

CURRENT HISTORY

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WHY TALAAT'S ASSASSIN WAS ACQUITTED

Director, Armenia-America Society

An Armenian named Teillirian was tried at Berlin on June 2-3 for the murder of Talaat Pasha, who was chief of the Young Turk Party, and who was, during the latter part of the war, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire. The murder of Talaat on March 15, 1921, drew general attention to the fact that the German Government was allowing Talaat to use Berlin as a centre of Turkish Nationalist intrigue. It was expected that the known sympathy of the German Government for the Young Turks would result in the prompt conviction and execution

Teilirian and the Armenian Nation, it appeared, had found a champion in the person of Professor Lepsius, who was not only bold in bringing out unpleasant truths, but who had the evidence to make the truths irrefutable. The trial of the Armenian developed into the trial of the murdered Talaat Pasha as the greatest of the war criminals. It developed into a case against the German military authorities, who had at least allowed the massacres to continue without protest. Even

General Liman von Sanders, who had had charge of the German military forces in Turkey, was called as a witness. His testimony opened the eyes of the German people, as nothing else had yet done, to the fact of the terrible massacres and to the callousness of the German military authorities to the horrors that were going on under their eyes. Professor Lepsius produced German official reports to show that the total number of Armenians who perished as a result of the so-called deportations was over a million.

Although the technical defense of Teilirian was temporary insanity brought on by a vision of his murdered mother, the real defense was the terrible record of Talaat Pasha; so that in the eyes of Germany the acquittal of the Armenian of the charge of murder became the condemnation to death of the Turk. That such a trial and such a result occurred in Germany with Germans as jurors is particularly significant.

With respect to the present situation in the Near East, the most important phase of this dramatic trial was the ability of Professor Lepsius to produce Turkish official documents which proved the heads of the Turkish Government at Constantinople—and particularly Talaat himself—to be directly responsible for converting the deportations into shambles. Heretofore there have been defenders of the Ottomans who held that the massacres were not a plan of the Government, but were due to the brutality of those who carried out the deportation instructions. At the trial of Teilirian there were placed in evidence facsimiles and translations of signed orders from Talaat—letters and cipher telegrams which prove that the instructions to massacre originated in Constantinople. As Aleppo was the headquarters of the "Deportations Committee," the capture of Aleppo by the British made possible the securing of these official documents from the archives. This evidence directly linking the murdered Talaat with the inhuman deeds that were covered by the general term "deportation" was irrefutable and overwhelming. The documents established once and for all the fact that the purpose of the Turkish authorities was not deportation but annihilation.

The object of the present article is to

present translations—with facsimiles—of some of the Turkish official documents that created such a sensation when read into the evidence during the trial at Berlin. The first document, although not signed by Talaat, is from the committee of Young Turks of which he was the head, and, inasmuch as its contents are referred to in dispatches signed by him, was valid as evidence. It was written in the Spring of 1915, before the massacres had begun, and shows the extermination of the Armenians to have been the determined policy of the Government. Jemal, to whom the document is addressed, was the third in the triumvirate of Young Turks—Talaat, Enver and Jemal. At that time he was Governor of Adana and soon afterward became Governor of Aleppo:

March 25, 1915.

To Jemal Bey, Delegate at Adana:

It is the duty of all of us to effect on the broadest lines the realization of the noble project of wiping out of existence the well-known elements who have for centuries been constituting a barrier to the empire's progress in civilization. For this reason we must take upon ourselves the whole responsibility, saying, "come what may," and appreciating how great is the sacrifice which has enabled the Government to enter the World War, we must work so that the means adopted may lead to the desired end.

As announced in our dispatch dated Feb. 18, the Jemiet [Young Turk Committee] has decided to uproot and annihilate the various forces which have for centuries been an obstacle in its way, and to this end it is obliged to resort to very bloody methods. Be assured that we ourselves were horrified at the contemplation of these methods, but the Jemiet sees no other way of insuring the stability of its work.

Ali Riza [the committee delegate at Aleppo] criticised us and called upon us to be merciful; such simplicity is nothing short of stupidity. For those who will not co-operate with us we will find a place that will wring their delicate heartstrings.

I again recall to your memory the question of the property left. It is very important. Do not let its distribution escape your vigilance; always examine the accounts and the use made of the proceeds.

Reference to this document is contained in the following order, signed by Talaat and sent to the same Jemal. This order shows that women and children were to be included in the holocaust:

Sept. 3, 1915.

To the Prefecture of Aleppo:

We recommend that you submit the women and children also to the orders which have

دفعه پنجمین به ایالتی که در تاریخ ۲۰ فوریه ۱۹۰۸
مقرر شد که در آنجا کشتار صورت گیرد

اینک که خبر رسید که در آنجا کشتار صورت گیرد
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۱۹۰۸/۲/۲۰

FACSIMILE OF TALAAT PASHA'S TELEGRAM, NO. 830,
ORDERING THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIAN ORPHANS.
(See translation on Page 555)

دفعه پنجمین به ایالتی که در تاریخ ۲۰ فوریه ۱۹۰۸
مقرر شد که در آنجا کشتار صورت گیرد

دفعه پنجمین به ایالتی که در تاریخ ۲۰ فوریه ۱۹۰۸
مقرر شد که در آنجا کشتار صورت گیرد
و اینک که خبر رسید که در آنجا کشتار صورت گیرد
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و اینک که خبر رسید که در آنجا کشتار صورت گیرد

FACSIMILE OF THE DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE
AMERICAN CONSULATES
(See translation beginning on this page)

been previously prescribed as to be applied to the males of the intended persons, and to designate for these functions employees of confidence.

The Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.

Apparently the instructions regarding the women and children called for some reiteration, for on Sept. 16 the following cipher telegram, which showed the instructions as going back to the decision of the Jemiet, or Young Turk Committee, was sent:

[TRANSLATION]

Sept. 16.

To the Prefecture of Aleppo:

It has been previously communicated to you that the Government, by order of the Jemiet [the Young Turk Committee] has decided to destroy completely all the indicated persons living in Turkey. Those who oppose this order and decision cannot remain on the official staff of the empire. An end must be put to their existence, however tragic the measures taken may be, and no regard must be paid to either age or sex, or to conscientious scruples.

Minister of the Interior,
TALAAT.

Mr. Morgenthau, the American Ambassador at Constantinople, began to exert himself in behalf of the Armenians, and the result was an official order suggesting caution:

Nov. 18, 1915.

To the Prefecture of Aleppo:

From interventions which have recently been made by the American Ambassador at Constantinople on behalf of his Government, it appears that the American Consuls are obtaining infor-

mation by secret means. In spite of our assurance that the [Armenian] deportations will be accomplished in safety and comfort, they remain unconvinced. Be careful that events attracting attention shall not take place in connection with those [Armenians] who are near the cities and other centres. From the point of view of the present policy, it is most important that foreigners who are in those parts shall be persuaded that the expulsion of the Arme-

at Aleppo. Have dangerous persons of this kind arrested and suppressed.

Minister of the Interior,
TALAAT.

The need for caution is further indicated in the following telegram:

Dec. 29, 1915.

To the Prefecture of Aleppo:

We learn that foreign officers are encountering along the roads the corpses of the in-



(Photo Paul Thompson)

TALAAT PASHA

Turkish official who ordered the massacre of Armenians, and who was assassinated by an American youth at Berlin

nians is in truth only deportation. For this reason it is important that, to save appearances, a show of gentle dealing shall be made for a time, and the usual measures be taken in suitable places. It is recommended as very important that the people who have given such information shall be arrested and handed over to the military authorities for trial by court-martial.

The Minister of the Interior,
TALAAT.

Reference to the effort of the American Consul at Aleppo, Mr. Jackson, to send information to Mr. Morgenthau is contained in the following cipher dispatch:

Dec. 11, 1915.

To the Prefecture of Aleppo:

We learn that some correspondents of Armenian journals are obtaining photographs and letters which represent tragic events, and are giving them to the American Consul



SOLOMON TEILIRIAN

Young Armenian who killed Talaat Pasha, and was acquitted

tended persons and are photographing them. I recommend you the importance of having these corpses buried at once and of not allowing them to be left near the roads.

Minister of the Interior,
TALAAT.

The heartlessness of the Turks in regard to the doomed children made a deep impression on the Berlin jury. The following are some of the documents presented on this point:

Nov. 5, 1915.

To the Government of Aleppo:

We are informed that the little ones belonging to the indicated persons [Armenians] from Sivas, Mamuret-ül-Aziz, Diarbekir and Erzeroum are adopted by certain Moslem families and received as servants when they are left alone through the death of their parents. We inform you that you are to collect all such children in your province and send them to the places of deportation, and

also to give the necessary orders regarding this to the people.

Minister of the Interior,

TALAAT.

Jan. 15, 1916.

To the Government of Aleppo:

We hear that certain orphanages which have been opened received also the children of the Armenians. Whether this is done through ignorance of our real purpose, or through contempt of it, the Government will regard the feeding of such children or any attempt to prolong their lives as an act entirely opposed to its purpose, since it considers the survival of these children as detrimental. I recommend that such children shall not be received into the orphanages, and no attempts are to be made to establish special orphanages for them.

Minister of the Interior,

TALAAT.

The production of the following cipher telegram (No. 830) was particularly telling in its effect on the jury:

From the Ministry of the Interior to the Government of Aleppo:

Collect and keep only those orphans who cannot remember the terrors to which their parents have been subjected. Send the rest away with the caravans.

Minister of the Interior,

TALAAT.

That the Moslem population was not to be held accountable for its share in the massacres was ordered in a telegram dated Oct. 8, 1915:

The reason why the sanjak of Zor was chosen as a place of deportation is explained in a secret order dated Sept. 2, 1915, No. 1,843. As all the crimes to be committed by the population along the way against the Armenians will serve to effect the ultimate purpose of the Government, there is no need for legal proceedings with regard to these. The necessary instructions have also been sent to the Governments of Zor and Ourfa.

Minister of the Interior,

TALAAT.

All the evidence tends to show, with cumulative effect, that it was the pity awakened in the hearts of some of the local Turkish officials by the miseries of the Armenians which produced a certain mitigation of the heartless orders that emanated from Constantinople. A small remnant of the race survived. Talaat and his group in the Government were obliged continually to spur some of their tools on to greater severity.

CAUSES OF THE PALESTINE RIOTS

THE investigation conducted by Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner in Palestine, into the causes which led to the Jaffa conflict between Jews and Arabs in the first week in May caused him temporarily to curtail immigration and to subject the immigrants allowed to enter to more strict supervision.

Investigation of the Jaffa affair disclosed the fact that although certain Bolshevik agents had made their way into Palestine via Angora, the principal instigators of the trouble were among the newly arrived Russian immigrants at Jaffa. These instigators, it is alleged, found ready hearers among their fellow-immigrants, who were disappointed at the measures taken by the Zionist organizations to provide for them.

The Palestine administration debated the following alternative of action: On the one hand it was pointed out that without security for life and property there could be no development of the country, and that since the misconduct of the Arab police in

the Jaffa riots showed that Arabs were not fit to be trusted to maintain order and that the rioting was an organized attack upon the policy of the Jewish national home, the Government should organize those who could be depended on—namely, the Jews—to defend themselves and maintain order in the country. On the other hand, admitting that faults had been committed on both sides, the part played by both the Angora agents and the communist agitators was equally obscure, while the combined effect was to arouse the immigrants against the Zionist organizations and the Arabs against the immigrants, who, it was alleged, were seeking to take the place of the Arabs. This being so, it was urged that instead of the authority and responsibility of the Jews being increased both Jew and Arab should be organized to contend against the common enemy of both, namely, Russian Bolshevism as introduced by agitators among the Jewish immigrants or its Turkish phase as introduced by agents from Angora among the Arabs.

AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE SILESIAN PERIL

BY BURNET HERSHEY

An American newspaper correspondent who has spent
many months in Upper Silesia

Causes of the strife and bloodshed that have torn asunder the peaceful communities of Upper Silesia and created a menace of another European war—Interviews with Korfanty and General LeRond—Conclusions of the author after hearing both sides

UPPER Silesia today presents the picture of a people blindly seeking a way out of a political wilderness planted there by a peace treaty. An excitable mixed population of Germans and Poles, trembling under the threats of a mob, terrorized by guerrilla warfare and misled by unscrupulous propaganda, has converted the once peaceful, industrious province into such a Babel of dissension and strife that the world has been aroused to the grave menace of another war. Upper Silesia is a victim of the same illusory doctrine that has thrown all Europe into convulsion—"self-determination." The inhabitants feel that they would rather have been left alone to work out their destiny and carry on their existence without the trouble-breeding solicitude professed by both Berlin and Warsaw.

It seems strange that in the heart of Europe there should exist a region in many respects analogous to a colonial domain and that, like a colonial prize, it should form the basis of contention between two powers. Upper Silesia can be viewed as such a colony, prodigiously rich in natural resources and highly developed as an industrial machine.

Poland possessed it once when she was a chivalrous nation of cavaliers and crusaders. That was eight centuries ago. After centuries of strife, Germany acquired it, and established her authority by exploiting its resources and creating its present wealth. As a pretext for recovery, Poland is now invoking ancient historical titles, while Germany demands the rights of existing ownership and economic necessity.

Germany points to proof—only two miles away across the Polish frontier—that Poland is incapable of developing the re-

sources of Upper Silesia. The evidence is there. From a roof in Myslowitz, a border town, an observer is struck by the contrasts in landscape. In Upper Silesia, the eye greets an orderly countryside, in the distance looming the smoking stacks and rugged shafts of modern industry; in Poland, disheveled acres with clusters of squatting, rude, wood-and-mud thatched huts—a primitive colony. Yet it is virtually only a stone's throw over the boundary, which is not a natural geographical demarcation, but merely an imaginary political line. The same soil, but no mines, no factories, no mills. The wealth still is untapped.

The disputed province of Upper Silesia, designated by the Peace Convention to settle its own destiny, consists of a territory in area slightly smaller than Belgium. On March 21, 1921, the history-making plebiscite, as stipulated by the Versailles Treaty, was conducted. It failed utterly to register the true aspirations of the population, which was its object. The plebiscite proved merely a taking of the census, for the balloting broke along the lines of nationality. Although the Germans got 716,000 votes and the Poles 471,000, giving the Teutons a plurality of 57 per cent., the results of the plebiscite, considering the circumstances under which it was taken, are confusing. If anything, the returns left the situation in worse chaos than before.

Despite the fact that the Poles lost out in the majority vote, they carried seven districts, against fourteen for Germany. This result, too, is practically meaningless, for in some districts where the Poles scored victory in the rural districts they lost neighboring urban districts. The districts were the old German kreise, or voting districts,

and, because of the use of this system of districting, the areas won by the opposing factions in many instances are disconnected. Broken along the lines indicated by the plebiscite returns, the territory would represent a veritable patch quilt.

It is important to recall that the clause in the treaty relating to the Upper Silesian



(Times Wide World Photos)

ADALBERT KORFANTY

Leader of the Polish Insurgents in the disputed area of Upper Silesia

plebiscite specifically states that in the final adjudication the Allies must take into consideration the conditions under which the vote was recorded. Consequently the plebiscite returns are not final. The ultimate disposition of this heterogeneous territory depends upon the decision of the Allied Council and will be influenced largely by reports of how balloting was effected. Impartial observers who visited the province are convinced that the vote, taken under the unscrupulous menace of the Prussians on the one hand and the ferocious terrorism of the Poles on the other, is not a fair expression of the desires of the inhabitants. Taken amid scenes of violence and

disorder, of tense excitement and intimidation, the fateful plebiscite was far from being the appeal to the people originally intended.

In some places the conditions were particularly turbulent. The crack of the rifle and the bark of the machine gun punctuated the balloting. The once peace-loving population, divided into two bitter camps, went to the polling booths as if to battle. The situation was fraught with the fierce animosity of a feud. Every one was keyed up and the whole business was like an immense powder magazine awaiting a spark.

CREATING AN UNNATURAL ENMITY

I have watched and studied the simple, hardworking folk of Upper Silesia and have inquired into their aspirations—not those of their political chiefs or military leaders, nor even of their religious heads. It would be incorrect to say that the Germans in the province have no sympathies toward their Fatherland. It would be misleading to assert that the Poles are unfriendly to their compatriots across the frontier. Yet, when one penetrates the surface he finds not a German, nor a Pole, but an Upper Silesian, with distinct regional characteristics and customs, although ethnically there is no such thing as an Upper Silesian.

There are nearly 3,000,000 Upper Silesians, of whom more than 1,500,000 are of Polish origin. Both nationalities are so hopelessly intermingled that observers have long despaired of a solution. Were it not for the propagandist tactics of Berlin and Warsaw, appealing to a race hatred long forgotten and to a class distinction recently intensified, it is doubtful whether the phlegmatic German or the apathetic Pole would ever have responded to the national consciousness which has caused the present turmoil.

Political, religious and economic differences divide the Germans and the Poles. Having lived in amity and comfort for hundreds of years, the Polish and German population has only recently been inculcated with a sense of nationality. Up to a short time prior to the plebiscite, the Germans were regarded by the great mass of the un-Teutonic element as the best fitted and most logical administrators of the district.

Upper Silesians knew no other allegiance

than that of the existing Government. Now they are suddenly confronted with the choice of a new destiny. Caught in the whirlwind of propaganda, the inhabitants have awakened to a sense of racial antipathy. A territory satisfied and prosperous has been rudely transformed into a hotbed of open hostility.

The Upper Silesians differ on religious grounds. For the most part the Poles are Roman Catholics, and cherish intense antagonism for the Protestant Germans. The Catholic Church plays a big part in uniting the Polish element, and has contributed largely to welding the Poles into a solid force. Economic considerations have also contributed to dissension. Germans are the mine owners, the coal operators and the industrial chiefs. The Poles are the laborers, the workingmen, the tillers of the soil, so that the old socialistic arguments of capital and labor have been injected into the controversy.

The German of Upper Silesia is interested mainly in the exploitation of the mines and industries constructed by German effort and non-existent in that distant past when the province was seized as a share of territorial booty. When not a capitalist or a public functionary sent by Berlin, the German is intent only upon carrying on his business and earning his daily bread. He is usually the shopkeeper, school teacher or professional man. On the other hand, the Pole is in the mines and the field, at the forges or lathes, in the lumber mills or factories. When not harnessed by a Korfanty and subjugated to the will of Warsaw, the Pole of Upper Silesia is the most simple and unassuming individual in the world. Few arguments of politics or economics have any weight with him. What then does he desire? He wants to be left alone. He wants to be free to worship in his own way. He wants to eat his white bread and have his bowl of soup. He wants to live in the hope that his sons will rise to a higher level. He wants a share of the soil and a better wage. All the rest in his eyes is rhetoric.

Since the Treaty of Versailles, Upper Silesia has had an international Government, France, Britain and Italy jointly taking part in the administration of the province. Oppeln is the headquarters of this Government, and General Le Rond, the Frenchman, is the real head. He is the

man who wrote most of the clauses relating to Upper Silesia into the treaty. A complete Government has been established, which has been in operation for more than two years, and which has ministries and bureaus having equal representation of both Germans and Poles, but supervised by the Allied Commission.

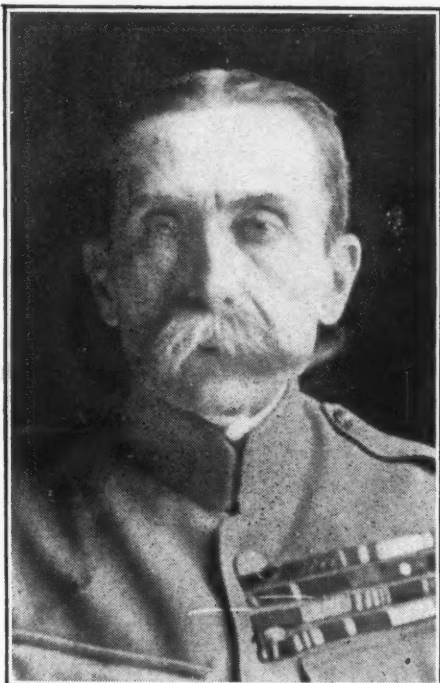
LE ROND AND KORFANTY

General Le Rond, French military dictator of the district, has his headquarters at the Stadthaus in Oppeln. He is of small stature, a frail body supporting a massive head. He is distinguishable from afar by a huge mustache. He is about 60 years old, and for all his five feet one, when clothed in his horizon blue and wearing nearly every allied decoration, he presents an imposing figure. General Le Rond is a principal assistant of Marshal Foch, who considers him one of his most able collaborators. This Frenchman, who bears the burden of the ungrateful task of managing Upper Silesia, is considered one of the ablest diplomats in Europe. The General is an enthusiast concerning things American. He acted as Marshal Foch's representative at A. E. F. Headquarters, and knows American methods.

"We have done our utmost to preserve order in Upper Silesia," Le Rond told me, speaking in perfect English, "but our forces are insufficient for such a stupendous job. We have been accused of being partial to the Poles. It is always easy to accuse. This job is not only thankless, but difficult, and nobody seems to have wanted it. Therefore we French had to do it. There are only 3,000 Italian troops here, practically no British soldiers—only a handful of officers—and so the greater part of the task has fallen to us French. I have only 10,000 French troops to police this vast territory."

General Le Rond felt that some American troops from the Rhine would have prevented much friction in Upper Silesia. He explained that their presence would not only have lessened the burden, but would have left less room for criticism. "I have always kept a vacant chair in my council room," he explained, "ready for its American occupant." Then the French General added: "I have been accused of maintain-

ing an attitude of open solicitude for the Polish cause, and of permitting the wholesale smuggling of arms across the frontiers from Poland. My accusers know that as many German arms have been imported as Polish arms. Heaven knows, with the small force at my disposal, I have been unable to cover every foot of territory along the miles of frontiers. If smuggling has been going on, it was certainly not at the points where my troops were stationed."



(Photo International)

GENERAL LE ROND
Commander of French forces in Upper Silesia

General Le Rond furnished me with passes and the necessary facilities for exploring the frontiers myself. I traversed the greater length of the Polish-German border, discovering for myself that the frontier did not permit efficient patrolling any more than the Canadian-American border does.

The Polish leader of the insurrectionists, Wojciech (Adalbert) Korfanty, who has led his insurgents to an invasion of more than one-half of the Upper Silesian territory and caused the problem that threatens to divide the Allies, is the prototype of the Russian hetman. For twenty-five years he was the

representative of the Poles of Upper Silesia in the Reichstag and the leader of the Polish bloc. Though not endowed with real qualities of leadership, and, curiously enough, possessed of an unattractive and even repulsive personality, Korfanty has nevertheless succeeded in enthroning himself as the "czar" of the 1,500,000 Poles from whom he has drawn his rabble of an army. Except for slight skirmishes, Korfanty's advance with his mob of adherents was undisputed. The French troops refused to offer resistance, and the only troops that did resist were the Italians. Korfanty timed his coup at the psychological moment, when General Le Rond was off to Paris and when the Allies and Germans were busy trying to settle the important question of indemnities.

The rebel force of Korfanty has been compared to Zeligowsky's Vilna insurgents, who, like Korfanty's gang, invaded territory which they believed should go to Poland. The comparison is flattering. Zeligowsky's troops are really a corps d'élite compared with Korfanty's hooligan bands. Korfanty knows little of generalship, and his gang of nondescripts care less about fighting than did their compatriots before the siege of Warsaw last year.

In a conversation I had with Korfanty in the little hotel in Beuthen which served as the Polish plebiscite headquarters, he explained to me how from a mass of scattered, disinterested Poles, he has molded an enthusiastic bloc, all working in the interests of Polish freedom:

My campaign [Korfanty said] called for an effective counter-propaganda against the powerful publicity methods of Wilhelmstrass. My fellow-countrymen needed much education concerning the movement for a plebiscite. I enlisted the help of the Church, religion being the most powerful factor in the lives of the average Polish worker and peasant. It has been my most potent auxiliary. Next I organized the labor forces. Remember that the Poles here make up the toiling class, and that an appeal to class consciousness could not help but yield results.

I asked Korfanty whether he expected to remain the supreme leader of the Poles of Upper Silesia in case the Warsaw Government took possession of the greater part of the province. His response at once betrayed his insincerity. It was not difficult to see

that the insurgent dictator was nourishing a secret ambition to retain for himself the power of ruling a possible autonomous Upper Silesia and using the vast resources of the territory for his own enrichment. This Korfanty is no Kosciusko fighting for Polish freedom. He has fooled his ignorant followers into a campaign which has for its basis his personal ambition.

When I spoke to him, Korfanty failed to mention that he had organized his compatriots militarily. But he showed me how well his hotel was fortified, explaining that the measures were purely defensive. Machine gun nests with steel turrets were ranged along the cornice of the roof. Steel doors swung at every floor landing, shutting off one floor from another to repel a raid of a "Stosstruppe," or civilian band. The precautions showed that Korfanty had definitely planned for an armed struggle. He frankly admitted to me that arms were reaching the Polish inhabitants.

"Poland will fight to the last man for Upper Silesia," Korfanty told me. "The province is and always has been predominantly Polish. France is our ally and will always be ready to back our efforts against the Germans. We have no fear of the outcome."

VIEW OF A BRITISH OFFICER

I also had an interview with Major Ottley, who is a nephew of Lloyd George. Major Ottley said:

No matter how propaganda, whether Polish or French, tries to endow the Upper Silesian with a preponderance of pro-Polish sentiment, the facts as we British have found them—and surely we cannot be accused of partiality—are decidedly contrary to what Korfanty and General Le Rond have been continually disseminating. Upper Silesia is an industrial community first of all. Without the stimulus of capital and technical brains, the laboring community of this province might as well decide to emigrate elsewhere. Germany has supplied these requisites. Neither Poland nor her allies can furnish this needed propulsion. Besides, the Poles have proved themselves incapable of governing even their own population, to say nothing of a mixed population. Poland, least of all, can be considered qualified to govern an alien population such as are the Poles and Germans of Upper Silesia."

Major Ottley is a young officer, about 32 years old. I interviewed him in his apartment in Beuthen. More than once he has threatened to resign, but he has been kept on by his superiors in London,

who recognize in him an invaluable observer. The Major has written a comprehensive book on the subject of Upper Silesia. It is most likely that he greatly influenced his uncle, Lloyd George, and it is also largely probable that it was upon his information that the British Premier made his startling speech declaring England's stand against the Poles, which has strained relations between England and France.

An observer traveling from one town to another in Upper Silesia could not but be impressed with one of the outstanding features of the whole situation, namely, the friction that existed between members of the Interallied Commission. The feud between French and Poles, on the one hand, and British and Italians on the other, is not new. It has lasted for more than a year. British representatives in the district appeared to be the most disliked by the Poles. I remember on one occasion, at Beuthen, witnessing an attack by a mob of Polish miners on the automobile in which Major Ottley was riding. Major Ottley has been most outspoken against Polish violence, and has gone so far as to charge French toleration of some of the outbreaks against the German inhabitants. Both the Polish and French press accused him of being the tool of Germany, while the Germans never ceased to sing his praises. Shortly after the attack on the Major's car, which was rescued from the Polish mob by a detachment of German civilians, Ottley was carried through the streets of Beuthen on the shoulders of a frenzied mob of Germans. That incident was the prelude to a series of the most brutal murders ever recorded in the history of Upper Silesia.

As the observer goes over into the camp of the enemy—the Germans—the picture changes. I was prepared by the opposing side to meet a band of pirates, cutthroats and guerrillas. Instead, I met a committee of elderly professors, local physicians and bespectacled journalists. They all spoke English. One, formerly a pupil of Münsterberg at Harvard, was a member of the Psychological Department of Publicity for Upper Silesia. Another, a noted Berlin Socialist, was thrown in to carry weight with labor. At the head of the German organization was the aged Prince Hatzfeld, who resides at Oppeln. The real headquarters of the Germans, however, was

at Kattowitz. Prince Hatzfeld's seventy-one years, coupled with his indecisive manner, prevented him from being very active in the propaganda campaign, and it was his subordinates who did the work.

There was quite a contrast between the German and Polish headquarters. The Germans, in characteristic fashion, occupied the central hotel in Kattowitz, and all the work of their bureau was systematized. The whole thing was an up-to-date press agent affair, with even a photographic outfit included. Numerous colored posters were issued and distributed widely, some finding their way into Germany and even into the Ruhr Valley, where many German and Polish residents of Upper Silesia were temporarily employed.

The Poles at Beuthen occupied a rickety hotel, and one of the principal arguments was a soup kitchen. Korfanty would receive hundreds of laborers and treat them. It was a simple method, the same old political device. The Korfanty campaign made no pretense of elaborate display. Its posters were crude. But the Polish leader aimed to reach the workingman, and he did.

THREE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS . . .

There are three courses open for the disposition of Upper Silesia. The Allies must decide whether to turn it over to Poland or Germany, to divide it between the two countries, or to make it an autonomous State. General Le Rond, on a recent visit to the French Premier, Briand, gave him to understand that the Interallied Commission had practically agreed on the principle of dividing the region.

Germany has all along insisted that Upper Silesia is necessary for her economic existence. The Poles under Korfanty have invaded the rich coal and mining towns, and have carried into operation their scheme of expropriation of the industries which Germany created. It is futile effort. Korfanty's undisciplined mob has already struck serious German resistance, and the British

forces, strengthened by contingents from the Rhine, are preparing to take the field and sweep the Polish insurgents over the border.

The Upper Silesian problem appears unsolvable to any one who knows this territory. Rural districts and industrial centres are haplessly thrown together. At first glance the region seems a dense mass of smokestacks. Entering the mining district, one is thrust into the midst of a roaring basin, with its smoke, its blast furnaces, its steel and molten iron. Almost, it seems, in the backyard of this twentieth century industrial centre are the farm lands with their Poles and agriculture. One steps, as it were, from a steel mill to a pasture; from a bank to a barnyard. The whole district is a patchwork of modern industry and medieval ruralism.

Rich in coal deposits, having an estimated value of over 300,000,000,000 gold marks; in mineral resources, possessing iron, copper, lead and zinc mines; in industries, boasting of steel mills, metallurgical laboratories, tool shops, paper mills, cement works; in railroads, enjoying an elaborate network of railways, huge terminals and abundance of rolling stock; in agriculture, holding some of the best arable land in Europe; in lumber, being stocked with immense forests and having lumber mills—Upper Silesia would make fine picking for Poland.

This rich province, ready made by the efficient and thorough Germans, the Poles think they can seize by force of arms. But German enterprise has made Upper Silesia the wealthy industrial State it is today. Minus it, Germany would be deprived of a vast estate she practically created, and economically it might spell Germany's ruin. The Germans will not relinquish it without a struggle. A clash of Germans and Poles, involving, at it does, differences between France and Britain, may bring on another war.

THE POLISH REBELLION IN UPPER SILESIA

The alarming situation created by Korfanty, and Lloyd George's plain words regarding it—How the reinforced British began to clear a neutral zone, while Hoefer's Germans remained inactive—Dangerous possibilities

THE outbreak of the Polish inhabitants of the rich mining districts of Upper Silesia shortly after the taking of the plebiscite caused a dangerous complication in May and June. The insurgent Poles, at whose head Adalbert Korfanty, the Polish High Commissioner, hastened to place himself, were fully armed and quickly took possession of the main towns of the mining area, which had cast a majority vote for union with Poland. The ostensible cause of the revolt was an article published in a German newspaper, declaring that the Interallied Commission and the Supreme Council had decided to give Germany all the mining area, with the exception of Rybnik and Pless.

The small interallied force was helpless to drive back the victorious Poles. The Italian and British contingents found themselves in a painful position, as their ally, France, had supported the Polish claims in Upper Silesia and had openly assumed the position of protector of Poland. British and Italian officers were especially wroth with the French, who did but little fighting and who seemed inclined to let the insurgents have their way. Meanwhile the German elements in the affected districts were organizing for defense.

This was the situation when Lloyd George, before the House of Commons on May 13, made a sensational speech attacking not only Korfanty and his Polish insurgents, but also the Warsaw Government, for what had occurred. He spoke his mind in the plainest way and declared downright that if the interallied forces proved insufficient to put down the revolt it would only be fair to allow the Germans themselves to do so. Though he did not say so explicitly, his view that the French policy of favoring Poland was responsible in large measure for the Silesian situation was clearly apparent.

First of all he declared that Poland's claim to Silesia on historical grounds was

untenable, as Silesia had not been Polish for 600 years; the population argument he also dismissed on the ground that the Polish population had come to the territory only in recent times to work the mines owned by German capital. He reviewed the result of the plebiscite, which resulted in such a tangle of mingled Polish and German communes that it seemed almost impossible to decide on a solution, stating that the British and French Commissioners favored giving the regions which were overwhelmingly Polish to the Poles, those which were predominantly German to the Germans. "That was the finding of the officers representing Britain and Italy. The French took a different view." The British authorities in London, he continued, were on the point of considering this report when "the Polish population, under the leadership of Mr. Korfanty, raised an insurrection, tried to rush the position and to put us in the position of having to deal with a fait accompli."

LLOYD GEORGE'S HOT WORDS

The British Premier then expressed his view of this action and his fears of its consequences in the following uncompromising fashion:

That is the state of the case. It is a complete defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. I think it right to speak quite plainly, because if these things are to happen and no notice is taken of them, and we do not deal with them with that stern justice which I think has generally characterized the attitude of this country in all its dealings abroad, it is going to be fatal to the peace of Europe. And if the peace of Europe is disturbed, I cannot see what is going to happen to the world, and I am alarmed—I use the word deliberately—I am frightened. Therefore I think it is essential, in the interest of the nations, that whatever our prejudices, our predilections, may be, whether we dislike this man, or dislike this other—justice has nothing to do with dislikes—we must decide fairly, sternly, according to the pact which we ourselves have signed.

Lloyd George then pointed out that it was under that treaty that Poland had regained her freedom, and declared that Poland was the last nation in the world to question or to violate its provisions, especially in view of the fact that its every phrase meant the loss of a young British life, and also of the fact that many Poles had fought to the end under Austria against Great Britain and her allies. He further made it clear

out of Fiume. The Government took steps even to the point of forcible action, for they felt that the honor of a great nation was involved. I commend that fine example to Poland.

It was both a matter of honor and a matter of safety, declared the Premier, to oust the insurgent Poles. Justice must be done, whether the terms of the treaty were in favor of the Allies, or against them: Germany, in the final reckoning, must not be given the right to say that the Allies enforced those terms only when the terms were favorable to themselves. There were only two alternatives, either to restore order by force, or to allow the Germans themselves to restore order. Great Britain stood pre-eminently for fair play. To allow the Poles to take Silesia when Germany was disarming, to forbid the Germans to protect themselves, was unthinkable:

That is discreditable. It is cowardly. It is not worthy of the honor of any land, and I am perfectly certain that would not be the attitude that the Allies would take up. . . . Whatever happens, we cannot accept a fait accompli. That would be to permit a defiance which might lead to consequences of the most disastrous kind, and we do not accept it.

REPLIES OF POLISH LEADERS

These energetic words of the British Premier aroused a storm of hostile criticism in the French press, which charged that Lloyd George was bent on favoring the Germans at the expense of Poland and Great Britain's own ally, France. The speech was received in Warsaw with similar emotions, and M. Witos, the Polish Premier, replied to it formally before the Diet. It was the Poles, he said, who were the original settlers, and for 600 years they had suffered under the domination of the invading Germans; that, and the right of self-determination, were the basis of the Polish claim to receive back what was rightly theirs. M. Witos protested in the most emphatic way against Lloyd George's suggestion that the Germans be allowed to intervene militarily in the Silesian situation, declaring this would be a violation of the Versailles Treaty, and insisting that the only proper solution was a settlement strictly under the terms of the treaty. Having received assurance from the French Government that it would not permit Germany to send either men or ammunition



PLEBISCITE AREA OF UPPER SILESIA, WITH SHADED PORTION SHOWING REGION CLAIMED AND SEIZED BY KORFANTY'S POLISH INSURRECTIONISTS

that he believed that Korfanty's coup was not only tolerated, but encouraged by the Polish Government.

The Polish Government [Lloyd George said] repudiates responsibility. One is bound to accept the statement as representing their view, but it has happened once too often. Lithuania, by a settlement to which America was a party, as well as France and Italy and Britain, was given Vilna. Vilna was occupied by regular Polish troops in defiance of the Allies. They were asked to retire. The Polish Government said: "We have no responsibility. They went there without our wish." They are still there. The same thing is happening now, and there is the same disclaimer or responsibility, but there are arms passing from Poland, Polish officers are crossing the frontier. All this makes it very difficult to feel that these repudiations of responsibility are anything but purely verbal. Signor d'Annunzio seized Fiume in defiance of the Italian Government. The Italian nation felt that its honor was involved. Signor d'Annunzio and his men are

across the border, the Polish Government, on its part, once more summoned the insurgents, as well as the whole population of Silesia, to discontinue the insurrection and to allow the problem to be solved equitably by the allied powers.

The British Premier's speech also drew the fire of Korfanty himself, who on May 16 sent to Lloyd George from Sosnowiec, Poland, an impassioned defense of the motives of the insurgents, combined with an appeal to the British sense of fair play. To this communication Lloyd George made no reply. The storm of abuse in the French press, however, aroused him anew, and on May 18 he exploded a new bombshell, in which he repeated the statements which he had previously made, declared that they had received the complete support of the British, Italian and American press, and warned France that "the habit of treating every expression of allied opinion which does not coincide with her own as an impertinence, is fraught with mischief," adding that "such an attitude of mind, if persisted in, will be fatal to any entente."

BRIAND'S PRIVATE CRISIS

Immediately after his speech in Parliament, Lloyd George sent Premier Briand of France an invitation to meet him at a week-end conference in London, in order to reach an agreement on what should be done to cope with the situation. The conference, however, was postponed, as the French Premier could not take part in such a conference until he had received a vote of confidence from the French Parliament. At a session of the French Chamber, May 24, Premier Briand pleaded for two hours for moderation, declaring that the alliance with Great Britain must not be endangered, and that the German Government had pledged itself to close its Silesian frontier, to prevent the passing of German troops to reinforce the excited Germans of the invaded districts, and to disband the voluntary forces which had been forming in East Germany for the last three weeks.

The Premier won his vote of confidence at this session by 403 votes to 163; this result came after a nine-hour debate closing five days of argument, marked by the violent onslaughts of the Nationalist and Militarist factions. In frank, uncompromising fashion, M. Briand placed the issue squarely be-

fore the House, declaring that there was no middle course, and that his policy of moderation toward Germany must be either accepted or rejected. In the fiery debates that preceded the final vote, the issues of reparations and Upper Silesia became hopelessly entangled. The vote of confidence was cast in the form of two separate resolutions, that on Upper Silesia approving the Government's policy in this problem, and declaring for the strict and loyal execution of the terms of the treaty, as affecting Upper Silesia, both in letter and in spirit.

Strong in this approval, the French Premier proceeded to reach an understanding with Great Britain before taking further action. On May 28 he sent a note to Lloyd George pointing out that the Germans were continuing their operations in Upper Silesia, and urging that the interallied decision on the plebiscite should await the restoration of order with the arrival of the British troops then on their way. He further advocated, in view of the fact that the reports of the allied High Commissioners were not unanimous, that the whole question be submitted to a special commission made up of civilians, lawyers and diplomats, who would communicate their findings to the Supreme Council.

Under the British and Italian plan to give to Germany the regions which had gone German by a large majority, and to Poland the regions which voted mainly Polish, Germany would be given outright the following districts: Nesewitz, Kreutzburg, Rosenberg, Oppeln City, Oppeln country, Lublinitz, Oberplogau, Kosel, Leibschütz, Ratibor City and Ratibor country. Poland would receive under this solution only the large communes of Rybnik and Pless. The International Commission would take over the remaining ten communes: Beuthen City, Beuthen country, Kattowitz City, Kattowitz country, Königshütte, Gleiwitz, Hindenburg, Gross Strehlitz, Tost and Tarnowitz. The French Government was opposed to this scheme, and also to the desire of Lloyd George for a majority decision, but the main purpose of the French Premier was apparently to play for time. To show its good faith, the French Government joined in a severe note to Poland to close its own frontier pending a solution. Meanwhile the French leaders set to work, through a specially created commission at the Foreign

Office, to receive and tabulate all information in the case, as a basis for drawing up the complete case for Poland at the coming meeting of the Premiers.

SITUATION IN SILESIA

While these diplomatic exchanges were taking place the situation in the Upper Silesian territory was becoming more and more threatening. The Polish forces had given no signs of retirement and Korfanty had addressed (May 25) a proclamation to Germans in towns in the plebiscite area declaring that these towns were being more closely encircled by his troops every day and that only immediate surrender would avert disaster; he called upon them, therefore, to demand that the Interallied Commission should consent to this surrender. Attacks by the Poles were occurring in several places, accompanied by plundering. Important news came at about this time. Lieut. Gen. Hoefer, formerly a member of the German General Staff, had been made military dictator of the German part of Upper Silesia and the German population had extended to him their formal vote of confidence. All parties were represented in this vote, taken at Oberglogau, twenty-five miles northwest of Ratibor, on May 24, which delegated to General Hoefer the power "to prevent any further spread of the Polish uprising and to restore order."

Rejecting all suggestions that he negotiate with Korfanty for an armistice, General Hoefer at once developed his military operations, taking Landsberg and repulsing Polish counterattacks in the Rosenberg region. One town captured by him—Leschnitz—had been bombarded vainly by the Poles in an attempt to regain possession. The small German army under him, estimated at about 16,000, had taken the name of Selbstschütz (Self-Defense). Its offensive was developing slowly. It was led in some instances by British officers. East of the Oder, at Gogolin, and at Kreuzburg the Germans were steadily advancing. The Poles were yielding ground.

The danger of the situation was increased by the arrival of four battalions of British troops transferred from the Rhine. Two more battalions were on their way from England. The first battalion of Black Watch (Scotch) soldiers reached Oppeln on May 30. It received an almost delirious welcome.

Hundreds of school children met the soldiers at the station, deluging them with flowers and shouting gleefully as the bagpipes screeched the music of the march. Cavalry led and cleared the way, and the progress of the marching columns was a continuous and friendly ovation.

The sentiment of the British soldiers, like that of the Italians who were preparing to co-operate with them, was that the troops of Korfanty must be driven out at every cost. They were even ready to co-operate with the German irregulars should this prove necessary. One correspondent declared that both Germany and Poland were secretly violating the frontier promises, and that the newly arrived British soldiers had a difficult task before them. The entire industrial district at this time was in the hands of the Poles, the French troops having yielded control of Myslowitz to Korfanty and having restricted their policing of Katowitz to the centre of the town.

DANGER OF ANOTHER WAR

The danger of this complicated situation was that some unexpected happening would precipitate a crisis in which the French and the Poles would be driven to make common cause against the British and German forces. The British feeling was that the Germans were hoping for this, and that it must be avoided at any cost. British action was suspended, pending the arrival of Sir Harold Stuart, the new head of the British Mission, in Silesia. So tense and delicate was the crisis that the Interallied Commission on May 30 sent an appeal to the allied Premiers to avoid all public discussions of the Silesian problem, as the least misinterpretation would suffice to bring on new conflicts.

Both General Hoefer and his military commander, Major von Moltke, as well as Korfanty, had given an oral engagement not to resume fighting for the time being. It was expected that when the time was ripe the English would take the field, and that the Italians and French would garrison the towns. (The Polish irregular forces were busily preparing for defense, bringing up supplies of ammunition and machine guns, and had sworn, with Korfanty, that they would never yield.) Interviewed in Oberglogau on May 28, General Hoefer declared that he was prepared to act only

with allied sanction, that his own forces were inadequate to push the Poles across the frontier, and that if he went a step too far, his advance would be met by an immediate French occupation of the Ruhr.

Though the "One-armed" General claimed that he had his forces under complete control, the German troops in the outskirts of Beuthen began an attack on the Poles the very same day, precipitating a fierce conflict, in which hundreds were killed and wounded. It was stated that the whole city was in revolt against the French garrison; the German population, clamoring for food, had attacked the railway station, and the French had opened fire upon them both here and elsewhere. The Poles and the Germans fought desperately for virtually three days. Fighting also was going on at other points, and the Poles had been forced to give way at Gross Strehlitz, where they left 130 dead upon the field. The German casualties were twelve dead and thirty-one wounded.

BRITISH TAKE CONTROL

This was the ominous situation up to the end of May. The turn of events from the first of June to about the middle of the month showed a sudden change for the better, owing to the strong attitude of the British, who took hold of the situation again with a firm hand, the apparently moderate attitude of General Hoefer, head of the German forces in the region, and the obvious fear shown by the Polish rebels of the advancing British, the determination of whose leaders to clear a neutral zone between the Germans, on the one hand, and the Poles, on the other, even at the cost of bloodshed, was unmistakable.

The British campaign began on June 3, with the arrival at Oppeln of General Henniker, who, as General Le Rond's superior in ranking, was able to take the initiative at once. He called a conference of all the high British commanders to discuss military plans, which, it was understood, had the approval of the British Government. One main consideration was to dispose the inter-allied troops in such a way that all possibility of clashes between the Germans and the Poles, the Germans and the French, and even the British and the French, would be avoided. The British push forward, however, did not begin until June 7.

Meantime (June 4), the Interallied Commission sent to General Hoefer an ultimatum, threatening to withdraw the allied troops from the towns in the industrial region of Upper Silesia unless Hoefer withdrew his forces at once. The dangerous possibilities of such a withdrawal so impressed the German Government that it sent the British Government, through Dr. Sthamer, German Ambassador to Great Britain, a note complaining that this threat was tantamount to placing the German population of Upper Silesia at the mercy of the Polish insurgents, and made the unchaining of civil war inevitable, as the German defense forces would resist to the last, and the German Government would be unable to restrain them under the circumstances. The exposure of the German population to the brutal horror of a new Polish advance, the note declared, would be intolerable to the whole German people. A similar protest was handed to the French Foreign Office by Dr. Mayer, the Ambassador to France.

The French Government replied that the Interallied Commission had the situation well in hand, and would act according to the necessities of the situation. The French officials, however, expressed surprise that the German Government should come forward officially as the supporter of General Hoefer, and should take offense at an action necessary to restore calm and order in Upper Silesia, after assurances had been given by the German Chancellor, Dr. Wirth, that his Government was straining every effort to prevent action by German irregular forces in the disturbed territory. Dr. Mayer was asked if he desired it to be understood that his Government approved the activities of General Hoefer. Great Britain, on her part, sent word to the German Government that the British forces were now sufficient to restore order, and that it would not need any German aid to attain this end. At Earl Curzon's request, the Berlin Government sent a note to General Hoefer asking him to withdraw. This he declined to do, but promised to cease all attacks on the Poles pending British operations.

This was the status of affairs on June 7, when the British Commander, General Henniker, sent thirty-two lorry loads of the Black Watch Highlanders—more than 700 seasoned fighting men—by a surprise night

movement, to Rosenberg, twenty miles northeast of Oppeln. The Poles withdrew. Thus began a wide flanking and frontal push, devised to clear a neutral zone, and ultimately to restore the whole territory to its lawful administrators under the treaty—namely, the Interallied Plebiscite Commission. As late as June 8, however, foreign correspondents on the ground reported that the whole German male population of all ages, and even part of the female population, were streaming toward the Polish fighting front, in every kind of vehicle, garbed in every kind of uniform, armed with all descriptions of weapons. The occupation of Gleiwitz by Irish troops was announced at the same time. Before Gleiwitz, as in the case of Rosenberg, it sufficed the British forces to advance, and to deliver an ultimatum ordering the Poles to evacuate at short notice. The insurgents vanished within an hour, bag and baggage, with all arms, big and small. Fighting between the Poles and the Germans was still continuing at various points; neither side was taking any prisoners.

General Hoefer issued statements throwing the onus of small clashes between his forces and French contingents upon the French. Dr. Mayer, however, on June 9, presented a formal apology to the Paris Government for the arrest of fifteen French soldiers and the wounding of three of them, at Kalinow, near Gross-Strehlitz. M. Briand used severe language in replying, and emphasized the necessity of recalling the German forces. On June 8 Hoefer gave the British commander full assurance that he would refrain from any forward movement. The German leader was placed in a most difficult position by the actions of the Poles; this was especially the case at Ratibor, where the Poles were indulging in a fierce bombardment. The French Government, however, had only one wish—to see Hoefer withdraw, and, after due consideration of his refusal to do so, instructed its Ambassador at Berlin to notify the German Government that it must obtain this withdrawal immediately. Germany, the French protest declared, had accepted responsibility for Hoefer's acts by its formal apology in the case of the French

clash, and now it must compel his withdrawal.

KORFANTY'S WITHDRAWAL

On June 10, Korfanty agreed with the Inter-Allied Commission to withdraw his forces and to liquidate the insurrection on condition that the Germans also withdraw. The Poles immediately proceeded to withdraw, but complaints at once followed that the Germans were not withdrawing.

Korfanty and his Executive Committee stated in a proclamation to the German Upper Silesians that the only wish of the insurgents was properly to mobilize the economic life of the country, and that but for the presence of German provocative agents normal conditions would not have been disturbed. The proclamation added that only uniformed and organized police, composed exclusively of Upper Silesians, including German Upper Silesians, would be sent to the cities in the insurgent area, but that such Germans must promise not to be hostile toward the Polish population.

General Henniker himself was working under extreme difficulties, but was striving to limit the operations of his forces to the belligerent area, leaving the districts which would normally go under the plebiscite to either party to be policed by the Germans and the Poles respectively. All his efforts to prevent further fighting between the German and Polish populations had not succeeded up to June 12. Rosenberg was being turned over to German plebiscite police.

The British, according to preconceived plans, were very slowly pushing their advance further, but at various points were hindered by the diametrically different view held by the French. The hardest part of their work was before them when these pages went to press. Sir Harold Stuart, the new British member of the Interallied Commission, had arrived by May 9. Meanwhile the French Premier still declined to meet the British Premier for a conference on Silesia, and the British view of the seriousness of the situation remained pessimistic. It was believed that if a disaster to the peace of Europe was to be avoided, the Supreme Council must act quickly and prove that it meant to be supreme.

GERMANY BEGINS PAYING THE PIPER

Delivery of 1,000,000,000 gold marks to the Reparation Commission constitutes the first step toward payment of the total war indemnity of 135,000,000,000 marks—Other proofs of sincerity of Dr. Wirth's Government—Sentences of criminals and communists

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

WITH the handing over by Dr. Mayer, the German Ambassador in Paris, of twenty three-month German Treasury notes, endorsed by German banks and equaling 840,000,000 gold marks, to the Reparation Commission on May 30, the German Government completed the first big step toward complying with the final reparation terms of the Allied Premiers accepted by the Cabinet and Reichstag on May 10.

Article 5 of the Reparation Terms [printed in full in CURRENT HISTORY for June] provided that Germany must pay 1,000,000,000 marks—in gold, approved foreign currency, foreign bills or approved German Treasury three-month notes—within twenty-five days from the date of the ultimatum (May 6), this payment to be treated as the first two quarterly instalments of the sum provided for in Article 4. Germany had placed 150,000,000 gold marks at the disposition of the Reparation Commission on May 17. This sum was transferred through the Federal Reserve Bank in New York, and the final deposits were credited to the Bank of England and the Bank of France on May 31. Dr. Mayer told the commission that he had 15,000,000 gold marks additional ready for it, and the initial big payment was completed a day ahead of time. On June 7 the Reparation Commission announced that Germany's payments so far had totaled about 1,040,000,000 gold marks, and that the surplus 40,000,000 would be applied to the amortization of the bonds. The previous day the commission had reported that Germany had taken up the first of the twenty \$10,000,000 Treasury notes by turning over its value in dollars, leaving nineteen notes to be paid by Aug. 31.

A Paris dispatch of June 8, in reporting the impending first accounting among the Allies on reparations, estimated the Ger-

man payments in money and kind, exclusive of the 1,000,000,000 gold marks mentioned above, as 8,000,000,000 gold marks since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles; from this was to be deducted about 7,000,000,000 gold marks to cover the cost of the allied occupation of Germany, leaving 1,000,000,000 to be credited to the general reparation fund. The Reichsbank announced on June 1 that it was in the market for gold coins and bars and would pay 260 paper marks for each twenty-mark gold piece and 36,000 paper marks for a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of fine gold.

In further compliance with the Entente's demands, the German Supreme Court at Leipsic began on May 23 the trial of several of the German officers and soldiers accused of atrocities during the World War, with a number of former British soldiers as witnesses for the prosecution and Sir Ernest Pollock, British Solicitor General, representing the Allies. Up to June 15, the trial had resulted in the conviction of Corporal Karl Heynen, the first man to be tried; Sergeant Robert Neumann and Captain Emil Müller—all accused of having brutally mistreated British prisoners of war—and the acquittal of Lieutenant Karl Neumann, the commander of the submarine that torpedoed the British hospital ship Dover Castle, and Max Randohr, a Leipsic student accused of having ill-treated and imprisoned Belgian children. Corporal Heynen was sentenced to ten months' imprisonment, and Sergeant Neumann and Captain Müller to six months each.

The acquittal of Lieutenant Neumann aroused unfavorable comment in England and in German Socialist and Liberal circles, but Dr. Ebermayer, the German Public Prosecutor, insisted that no other verdict could have been justly arrived at, be-

cause the submarine commander had taken no personal initiative in the matter of sinking the hospital ship, but was bound to obey the orders of his superiors. The reactionary press, headed by the Deutsche



DR. FRIEDRICH ROSEN

New German Foreign Minister, succeeding Dr. Walter Simons

Tageszeitung, hurled insults at Chief Justice Schmidt and his six fellow-judges for allowing themselves to be used as "Entente tools" for the punishment of "German soldiers who had merely done their duty," but Vorwärts and other Socialist papers were inclined to regard the entire proceeding as a farce, and demanded that not "miserable subordinates," but the men higher up, who conceived and issued the orders for wholesale destruction and deportations, be placed in the defendants' box.

Repeated declarations were made by Dr. von Kahr, Premier of Bavaria, to the effect that he did not regard the Home Guards of his State as included in the general disarmament that must be completed by June 30, in accordance with a note sent by the Allies to Berlin on May 17; he said, furthermore,

that he doubted his ability to make the 300,000 members of the "Orgesch" (Organization Escherich, the colloquial name of the Home Guards) give up their weapons. Dr. Mayer called upon Premier Briand on June 2 and told him of the difficulties encountered by the German Government in trying to live up to the ultimatum's terms, and that they must be met on time, or "sanctions" (the technical term for penalties) would be applied, which meant the much-dreaded occupation of the Ruhr industrial district. In the meantime pressure was being exerted on the Bavarian authorities by both the Entente Governments and the German Socialists, the latter threatening to promote general strikes in Bavaria and to cut off coal supplies through action by the miners of the Rhine Valley unless the "Orgesch" was dissolved. The leaders of the Home Guards decided on June 6 to disband by June 30, and the next day Herr Nortz, the Disarmament Commissioner for that district, stated that his motor trucks were already busy picking up the 2,730 machine guns and 78 cannon held by the Guards. He admitted, however, that he hardly expected to collect the 220,000 rifles in the hands of the Guards, as half of the latter were mountaineers, and an attempt to take away their guns by force would be too costly.

Hardly had the work of disarmament been begun, however, when the Bavarian reactionaries started the usual stories about the imminent danger of a Red revolt and the storing of arms and munitions by the communists. Consequently, the activities of Herr Nortz were halted after 650 machine guns had been turned in. The murder of Herr Garies, an Independent Socialist member of the Bavarian Diet who had been leading the campaign for disarmament of the "Orgesch," by unknown persons caused a three-day protest strike in the main industrial centres of Bavaria and furnished another pretext for a refusal to give up arms. The Independent Socialists in the Reichstag then put the matter of disarmament in Bavaria up to the National Government, threatening to precipitate a new Cabinet crisis unless Berlin took active steps to do what Dr. von Kahr had thus far succeeded in dodging.

Other sections of the ultimatum note of May 17 called for the bringing of the regu-



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THRONG OF 30,000 ARMED BAVARIANS IN MUNICH SWEARING TO KEEP ORDER AND TO DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY AGAINST BOLSHEVISM AND REVOLUTION

lar German army of 100,000 men within the terms of the Versailles Treaty, the surrender of superfluous munitions and unauthorized fortress equipment, the limiting of the manufacture of munitions to factories listed by the Allies and the reduction of all classes of police to 150,000 by July 15. Progress in complying with the terms of this note was reported by Allied officials in Berlin. An order was issued by the German Government on May 24 prescribing a maximum fine of 100,000 marks for illegal recruiting or organizing military bodies. Other orders closed the Upper Silesian frontier. [See article on rebellion in Upper Silesia.]

German papers reported on May 22 that the first quota, amounting to 48,000 tons and 16,000 horse-power of towing capacity, of the Rhine barges and tugs awarded to the Entente (principally France) by Walker D. Hines, the American arbitrator, last January, had been turned over, and that the French had rejected some 8,000 tons because of alleged inferior quality. The second quota will amount to 160,000

tons. The delivery of 3,480 cars to Belgium and 1,605 to France, on account of reparation for captured railroad materials, was also reported. On June 13 the big dirigible airship, Nordstern, was delivered to France.

Although there was no general withdrawal of troops by the Allies from the extended zone of occupation along the Rhine, and the menace of a seizure of the Ruhr basin still remained, a more friendly feeling toward Germany became apparent in France. Premier Briand spoke favorably of the efforts being made by Dr. Wirth, the German Chancellor, to live up to Germany's pledges, and M. Loucheur, Minister for the Devastated Regions of France, expressed the hope that a way would be found to accept the German offer of 25,000 houses to be put up for the use of the victims of German ruthlessness.

Despite the lack of a real majority in the Reichstag, Dr. Wirth, by his firm tactics, succeeded in holding his "signing" Cabinet together and getting a vote of confidence on June 4, following a lengthy de-

bate on his proposed plans for raising the money needed. The vote was 213 to 77. Dr. Wirth's supporters were the Centrists,



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DR. ESCHERICH

The Bavarian leader who created the military organization called the "Orgesch," whose dissolution the Allies are demanding

the Majority Socialists, the Democrats and some of the Independent Socialists. The Nationalists and Communists voted against the motion and the People's Party abstained from voting. A second section of the resolution approving the Government's attitude toward the Upper Silesian question was also carried by a big majority.

In outlining his program before the Reichstag Dr. Wirth said that "restoration and reconciliation" would be the basis of the German Government's policy abroad, and that it would have the "courage to demand of the German people the utmost sacrifice, endeavor and efficiency to fulfill obligations." There could be no academic discussions about living up to the peace terms, he declared, and he then proposed increased coal taxes, increased corporation taxes, increased stock transfer taxes and higher taxes on liquor, beer and tobacco. After warning that there must be no reparation profiteering, the Chancellor called for increased production and national economy, the building up of the foreign trade balance and the introduction of the most modern methods in industry and agriculture to the end desired.

On June 10 the Minister of Economics told the National Economic Council, which was considering ways and means to raise the sum of 50,000,000,000 paper marks per year estimated as required to meet the peace terms, including occupation costs and incidentals, that taxation alone would not solve the problem and that direct Government participation in the profits of industry would probably have to be resorted to.

By the appointment of Dr. Friedrich Rosen, Minister to Holland and an old-time diplomat, to the post of Foreign Minister and of Dr. Walther Rathenau, head of the General Electric Company, as Minister of Reconstruction in place of the temporary Minister, Herr Silberschmidt, Dr. Wirth practically completed his Cabinet. The only place left open was that of Minister of Finance, whose duties were being looked after by the Chancellor himself and by Otto Bauer, Minister of the Treasury and Vice Chancellor. Dr. Heinrich Albert, Secretary of the Chancery for the last two years, resigned on May 25.

Dr. Rathenau, who during the war was the leading factor in organizing German industry as an auxiliary to the army, but who

is generally regarded as a liberal-minded man aiming at reorganizing economic life on a more equitable basis, was severely attacked by Junkers, big business Deputies and communists when he took the floor in the Reichstag on June 2 in the debate on Dr. Wirth's program. Answering the hecklers, Dr. Rathenau said he had entered the Cabinet only because he was sure France was doing her best to come to an understanding with Germany, asserted that he was going to keep his department free from politics and profiteers and declared that the work of rebuilding the devastated zone in France was not a national, but a world problem; until that running sore on the Continent of Europe was healed, world peace was unthinkable.

Dr. Rathenau and Minister Loucheur met in Wiesbaden on June 12 and held a conference on plans for the utilization of German aid in reconstruction work. Both voiced satisfaction with the result of the meeting.

An agreement was signed in Peking on May 20 which ended the state of war between Germany and China and re-established commercial and diplomatic relations. [See China.]

Though business conditions in general showed no great change, and many banking and commercial firms were able to declare substantial dividends, the country was confronted with the anomaly that nearly 1,000,000 persons were unemployed at a time when there was a clamor for increased production and when it was estimated that the nation was short 1,200,000 dwelling houses. In Berlin alone some 120,000 heads of families were registered with the Municipal Housing Board as unable to obtain quarters. To remedy these conditions the German labor officials, representing about 10,000,000 organized workers, suggested the launching of public works and house construction on a gigantic scale, with profiteering eliminated and credit furnished by the national, State and municipal Governments.

The revenues of the National Government for the year ended March 31 amounted to 46,102,000,000 paper marks, with expenditures of about 88,000,000,000 marks. The floating indebtedness on April 30 was 189,608,000,000 marks.

The minimum cost of maintaining a family of four in Berlin fell to 281 marks per week in April, 17 marks less than in March and 94 less than in April, 1920. In April, 1914, the minimum was 28.80 marks.

The extraordinary courts established to handle the cases arising from the arrest of some 3,500 persons during the communist uprising of March continued functioning at high pressure, and by June 9 had sentenced about 400 persons to a total of 1,500 years at hard labor, 500 to a total of 800 years in jail, 8 to imprisonment at hard labor for life and 4 to death. Heinrich Brandler, Chairman of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party, which had promoted the abortive revolt, was sentenced to five years at hard labor.

Ex-Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of Wilhelm Hohenzollern, was found guilty by a Berlin court on May 17 of sending capital out of the country in violation of the law and fined 5,000 paper marks (about \$67 at present exchange rates). He was one of a number of formerly high placed defendants accused of having smuggled many millions over the border to Holland via the Dutch banking firm of Grusser, Philipps & Co. While still Minister of Finance Dr. Wirth informed the Reichstag that the banking house had been fined 600,000 marks, and capital to the amount of 2,500,000 marks had been declared confiscated by the Government. On May 30 Eitel Friedrich reviewed the disbanded Fourth Guard Regiment of the old German Army, which had been temporarily resurrected for the occasion on the Moabit parade grounds, and was made the object of a great ovation by the 200 ex-officers and 2,000 ex-members of the guard regiment, several hundred of whom belonged to a regiment of the new regular army.

THE MISTAKES OF FRANCE

BY ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor of the Greek Daily, Atlantis

An indictment of the foreign policy of the French Government, especially in the Near East, as seen from the Greek viewpoint—Ultra-nationalistic trend of the older French political leaders, contrasted with Briand's strong yet moderate policy

THE news that France, after drifting for months so dangerously away from her allies, is seriously considering the strengthening of her relations with Great Britain, is the most welcome news from Europe in almost a year.

Such an event, if it ever materializes, will mean nothing less than the first decisive step toward the restoration of peaceful conditions in Europe and the world. It will remove the greatest obstacle that has blocked the way to peace.

For two years following the signing of the Treaty of Versailles Europe sat on the anxious seat of a political volcano. This volcano was neither Germany's trickery nor Russian communism; it was the European policy of victorious France.

The ink was not yet dry on the German treaty when French policy, not as a matter of form, but as a matter of practice, broke loose from the general policy of the great alliance. A spirit of diplomatic, political and military independence seemed to take the place of loyalty to the great purpose which stood behind that alliance. Heroic France desired to continue the heroic tradition in a newly ushered era of peace, and in doing that she little thought of respecting the feelings of her greatest and most valuable ally just across the Channel.

That there is a strong current of anti-British feeling in France no one will deny. A large section of the French public has been told repeatedly that Britain has abandoned France after getting the lion's share of the German spoils. But it is doubtful whether this opinion is entertained by the thinking people of the Republic and by those who believe that the Treaty of Versailles is chiefly and primarily an instrument for the destruction of Germany to the almost exclusive benefit of France and who know that this same treaty could never have been framed and imposed on the van-

quished Germans without the sanction and the whole-hearted support that Great Britain gave to France. The whole history of the World War, the whole record of the Peace Conference and the whole experience of the United States is at hand to prove the truth of this assertion.

It may be safe, then, to take it for granted that the recent attitude and policies of France were not dictated by a spirit of hostility to Great Britain. This spirit may be present to a certain extent; but it is not spontaneous, and is chiefly fanned by the professional propagandist without affecting the great mass of the French people.

MILITARISTIC DIPLOMACY

What really is happening in France is that a proud nation which for almost fifty years has lived under the bitter memories of 1870 and in constant fear of German militarism has again come into her own, has felt her power and the significance of her victory. No one who has studied France and witnessed her intense suffering and her brave struggle in the great war, which came to her entirely without provocation, will condemn France for her victorious enthusiasm.

The fact remains, however, that this French enthusiasm has now reached the point where it constitutes a danger to European peace. It has passed all the safety signals and is headed toward a catastrophe. And so it becomes the duty of every friend of France, and of every friend of peace, to warn the gallant Republic of the danger toward which she has been rushing headlong under the leadership of men who have shown themselves to be excellent war makers, but who are entirely out of place at the head of a government engaged in reconstruction and the arts of peace.

The trouble with post-war France is not

that she is anti-British, or, for that matter, anti-ally. She is only intensely nationalistic, with too apparent leanings toward the Napoleonic program of militaristic imperialism. It is, in my opinion, this fiery nationalism that makes France oblivious of her allies of yesteryear and expresses itself in Joan of Arc celebrations and Napoleonic revivals. The Treaty of Versailles was expected to bring back the France of 1870; but it becomes daily more evident that what we see today is the France of Louis XIV. and Napoleon I. That the Treaty of Versailles has brought France to the frontier of 1870, which was the frontier of 1815, has been more than once the object of bitter complaints in the columns of the ultra-nationalist French press. "The frontier of 1815," these papers said, "was the frontier of a defeated, not a victorious, France." Then these writers seek to prove that the least that the allies and Clemenceau ought to have done for France was to give her the frontiers of her victories, which were those under Louis XIV. and Napoleon. Another mistake, from the point of view of these same writers, is that the Versailles treaty did not disrupt German unity. "This treaty," they said, "was made between the allied and associated powers on the one hand and Germany on the other, thus leaving German unity intact." This is the point of view taken by a number of able yet altogether too chauvinistic French writers, who say in conclusion that it is for the French arms to vindicate their point.

It is in the application of this policy that France missed no opportunity and left no stone unturned in order to disrupt German unity. Her activities in the Saar Valley and more recently in the Ruhr, her efforts to create a Rhenish republic as a nucleus of a South German confederation in which Bavaria and Austria, and possibly Hungary, will be eventually united in an economic, if not in a political, sense, her bitter struggle for an abnormally large and non-Polish Poland at the expense of German Silesia and of Russia, are nothing but the various manifestations of the all absorbing French effort to dismember the German Empire.

This policy, however, cannot be of much use to France so long as beyond the eastern frontiers of Germany there lies, barely separated by Poland, the ever-mysterious

and sullen Soviet Russia. A united Germany, even defeated as she is, may be forced to work for generations to pay tribute to the victors; but she will always prefer the certainty of this servitude to the uncertainties of the Soviet régime. A dismembered Germany is another story. Then the despair of the German people will force it to any extremity, and in such a case it is not Haller or Korfanty who will prevent the amalgamation into a single Red entity of all that territory stretching from the Pacific to the Rhine and calling itself the Russo-German Soviet Republic.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE

French policy is too keen to underestimate this danger, much as her militarists appear to despise it. Therefore France does all in her power to create and to strengthen a large Poland. But even so, French policy does not feel safe. This brings me to a consideration of other French combinations in Central and Eastern Europe.

As long as there was an imperial Russia France felt secure from Germany, and if one remembers the first anxious days of the great war and takes into account the almost forgotten sacrifices of Russia on the altar of allied victory, one will see that French confidence was not misplaced. With imperial Russia irretrievably gone, France found herself victorious, thanks to America's taking Russia's place, but facing a defeated enemy twice her size and population. The military strength of France is more than sufficient to keep weakened and disarmed Germany within bounds. The French problem is now to prevent any possible rapprochement between Germany and Russia while carrying on the process of dismembering the former. In order to do this, French policy is creating and strengthening a new Central European Slav Empire, equally hostile to both the Germans and the Bolsheviks. The Central European Slav Empire is made up of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, with the possible additions of the non-Slavic countries of Hungary and Bulgaria. This is the Little Entente, which in close alliance with France is expected to be able to keep Bolshevik Russia at bay, pending the dismemberment of Germany into its com-

ponent parts. Forty million Frenchmen, with another 40,000,000 Slavs fully armed and occupying the strategic position in Europe, are considered by France sufficiently strong to bring about the realization of a French-made South German confederation of the Rhineland, Bavaria and Austria, which, along with the Saar and the Ruhr (the latter is already under French control) will make France the dominant power in Europe.

This bold plan is no secret. It is expounded daily in the French newspapers and magazines; it becomes the favorite thesis for professional honors; it inspires the leaders of French thought and literature; it is the theme of the most carefully written articles in the best periodicals of France.

These are the main, or continental, lines of the present French policy. They are supplemented, however, by a much vaster program of European domination. France today has the second largest colonial empire, but she thinks that her colonies are less valuable than those of Great Britain. Therefore France is still in the field for more colonies, of a financial if not a political importance. She wants those colonies as close to the Mediterranean as possible; and, in view of the fact that England has secured a predominant position in Western Asia, the statesmen of France are straining every effort to secure a firm footing in the same territory. France, since the days of Francis I., was considered the friend and protector of the Turks, in exchange for numerous privileges bestowed on French trade and propagandists by different Sultans. It was partly in continuation of this policy that Napoleon went to Syria and Egypt, and it was along the same lines that French policy has worked for years in Lebanon and Syria, and generally speaking in the Levantine countries, where her influence was supreme up to the time of the great war.

FRANCE'S LEVANTINE FAILURE

This influence was due in no small degree to the activities of the Catholic schools and colleges, operated by various religious orders, and richly subsidized by the French Government, which was their political protector. It is to the credit of the men in

charge of this vast propaganda that these educational institutions have always been excellently manned, in most instances even surpassing the lay schools of the French Republic in efficiency and results. On the other hand, it is indisputable that these organizations have rendered a signal service to France, by familiarizing the people of the Levant not only with the language but also with the French way of thinking. It is for this reason that long after the separation of Church and State in France, these schools of the Marist, or Ascensionist, or Saint Josephist Brethren were still working under the protection of the Tricolor, while churches and monasteries in France were forcibly closed by the civil authorities and their occupants deported to more hospitable countries.

While thus attending to the educational needs of the Christian populations of the Levant, most of which, and chiefly the Greeks, have always had first-class schools of their own, France, on the other hand, offered every assistance to the Ottoman Government in the way of financial and political support. All was well until German competition made itself felt with the Kaiser's visit to Constantinople and Palestine and his Bagdad Railway deals with Abdul Hamid. Turkey was slowly but surely succumbing to German influence under the expert handling of the famous German Ambassador, Marshal von Bieberstein, when the Young Turk revolt took place.

As the Young Turkish movement was chiefly organized in Paris, France thought the time propitious to re-establish her erstwhile prestige by advancing new credits to the revolutionary régime. The Balkan wars practically put an end to Turkish domination in Europe, and when France shortly afterward advanced 700,000,000 francs to Turkey, German diplomacy was again supreme in Constantinople, and French money was used to supply Enver's army with German guns and ammunition for the eventual war against the Entente which came in 1914.

With the Germans in Constantinople and Sofia, with the British in Mesopotamia and Palestine and the Dardanelles, and with the French-equipped and officered armies of Serbia and Rumania defeated, while the French Army of Sarraill was idly watching

the course of events from Saloniki, it is not surprising that French prestige did not fare well in the Near East during the great war.

Thus when victory finally came it was not Franchet d'Esperey's Macedonian army that brought about the result, but the troops of Pétain, Haig, Pershing and Diaz under the supreme command of Marshal Foch, while all one saw in Constantinople and throughout the Levant was the powerful British fleet, all one heard was the victories of Allenby resounding from Bagdad to Jerusalem.

FRENCH SUPPORT FOR TURKEY

Following the allied victory a new situation was created in the Near East, where Great Britain became the predominant factor, and this quite naturally. Great Britain bore the brunt of the Near Eastern campaigns, from the Persian Gulf to the borders of Armenia and in the Caucasus, and from the Red to the Black Sea. The Kingdom of Hedjaz was her creation, as was the autonomous Mesopotamian State and the protectorate of Palestine. It was the British fleet that took possession of Constantinople pending the final settlement of the Eastern question. All that remained for France was Syria, and there the natives have clamored for independence ever since France took possession of Beirut.

One must take all these events into account in order to explain the bitter disappointment of French policy in a territory which she considered as being firmly held in her grasp. It will then be understood how France, seeing the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, under the supervision of Great Britain, decided to support the Turk in his preposterous claims to continue his domination over the Arab and Armenian and Syrian and Greek populations, which have all suffered grievously under his rule and which have always been superior to their master in intelligence, in culture, in morality and in human values.

This French policy was obviously so mistaken and so ill-advised that it resulted in alienating the sympathies of all the victims of Turkish oppression, who could not reconcile the liberal traditions of France with her open and undisguised support of the Turk. But once launched on this mistaken course, French policy did not stop at any-

thing. Thus France fostered the Kemalist revolt against the Constantinople régime set there by the Allies following the armistice, to do the bidding of the victors, and she went the length of supporting the Turkish Nationalists with arms and ammunition and diplomatic assistance against the Greeks, while fighting these same Nationalists in Cilicia, in the so-called zone of French influence.

It was this mistaken policy of France that strengthened the Nationalist forces of Mustapha Kemal, while the latter was secretly negotiating his alliance with Moscow, and this policy had the effect of making France the indirect ally of the Bolsheviki themselves. It was France who organized and equipped the Wrangel Army against the Bolsheviki, and it is this same army, or rather its remnants, that France is said to have allowed to pass into the camp of Kemal, there to co-operate with the Bolshevik forces sent from Russia, by way of the Caucasus, to help the Kemalists against the Greeks.

Had it not been for this mistaken policy of France the Near East would be at peace today. The encouragement given to the Nationalist Turks, the invitation extended to them last March to attend the London conference of that month, the stubborn insistence of France on the revision of the Sèvres Treaty in favor of Turkey and at the expense of the Greeks and the Armenians, the secret treaty-making between Briand and the Kemalist emissary Bekir Samy, and the failure of it all, through Kemal's sudden conversion to Bolshevism, these are the chief points of an unfortunate policy which in two years cost French taxpayers much more than the total indemnity paid to Germany in 1870.

Whatever encouragement French policy gave to the Kemalists, was deftly used to strengthen the Bolshevik hold on Nationalist Turkey, until all of a sudden we witnessed the development of the entire Turko-Bolshevik plan, whose aim it was to take Constantinople by storm, and there establish the capital of Russo-Turkish Bolshevism. Greek vigilance and British foresight succeeded in nipping this immense plot in the bud, and France once more is face to face with one of her greatest mistakes.

It was this same policy that brought war so near in the Ruhr and in Upper Silesia; and had it not been for Aristide Briand France would be fighting that war alone. Fortunately, such a world calamity seems now to be averted, and the recently mobilized French class of 1919 is being demobilized, while the danger of France's isolation has considerably lessened in the last few weeks. The sad truth remains, however, that in the course of these political manoeuvres France lost many friends, not because the world has lost faith in the French people, but because it distrusts her militarist and imperialist leaders, who until now seem to have had the upper hand in dealing with the European policies of the republic.

It is against these leaders that Aristide Briand's common sense and manly courage seem to have won a victory. Clemenceau and Tardieu, Poincaré and Foch are men who have rendered signal services to their country during the darkest days of the great war. No one denies their ability and their patriotism; but one has to acknowledge that the days of their usefulness are numbered, not to say gone. They are all men who live in the past and who have learned nothing from the fall of Napoleon and the débâcle of Kaiserism. They seem to be under the impression that what the First Empire failed to accomplish a hundred years ago they will be able to ac-

complish in 1921, less than three years after the greatest of all wars, after the flower of the world's manhood was sacrificed in order to put an end to the system that French militarism and French nationalism is trying to revive.

It is fortunate for France and fortunate for the world that against these tendencies of a restless and bellicose group there stands a man of power and ability of the calibre of Aristide Briand. He appears today before his country and before the world with the clear vision of a statesman, who sees very plainly that it is not by following in the footsteps of Imperial Germany that France will thrive and prosper. He understands that the greatest danger threatening France today is her isolation, and her detachment from the Great Alliance which was cemented with the best blood of the nations who fought against militarism and imperialism, not only in its German, but in all its forms.

Briand, better than any other man in France today, knows that it is not by dismembering Germany and by creating a new and more aggressive Slav empire in the heart of Europe that the interests of his country will be saved and peace made secure. It is in the full consciousness of the best interests of France that he is turning toward England for the renewal and the strengthening of an alliance in which America will heartily join for the preservation of world democracy and world peace.

ITALY'S COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

THE opening of the Cyrenaica Parliament at Bengazi, Italian Africa, in the first week of May, deserves some mention. It is an attempt on the part of the Italian Government to show other Governments how to treat their Moslem subjects. Here the cousin of the King, the Prince of Udine, read the speech from the throne, which was quickly translated into Arabic, before a Chamber almost entirely composed of Senussi. All but one of the sixty-nine Deputies were present. Of the total, fifty-four had been elected by a suffrage of their own

devising, seven had been appointed by the Italian Government and eight by the Grand Senussi. Of the Italian official Deputies one is the President of the Jewish community, the others are Italians; of the Senussite Deputies the most important is the Grand Senussi's cousin, Sidi Safi-Ed-din, brother of the former Grand Senussi, who was defeated by the British troops in 1915 and abdicated. Of the fifty-four elected members only two are Italians. Rules of procedure and party discipline were absorbing the new Parliament at last accounts.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Congress reduces the army to 150,000, but maintains the present naval force—Disarmament problems—Commotion created by a speech of Admiral Sims—Railway wage cuts and high prices problem—Tulsa race riots and Pueblo flood—New appointments

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

THE Senate, which on June 7 by a vote of 35 to 30 refused to reduce the army to an enlisted strength of 150,000 men, reversed itself on June 8, when by a vote of 36 to 32 it decided on an army that would not exceed that number. The enlisted strength of the army at the time the vote was taken was about 215,000 men, and the Senate vote meant that in the next six months the War Department would have to find a way to return 65,000 soldiers of the regular establishment to civilian life.

Senator Wadsworth, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, declared that the bill, while fixing the number at 150,000, would as a matter of fact mean a reduction to 120,000. This he predicted would demoralize the regular army and mean the wreckage of the skeleton structure on which the country must depend in the event of war. On the other hand, Senators Borah, La Follette, Reed and Williams favored a still more radical reduction, the latter even asserting that a regular army of 50,000 men would be sufficient for the peace-time needs of the nation.

As finally passed, the bill provided an appropriation of \$113,000,000 less than was allotted last year.

MILITARY EFFICIENCY

Secretary of War Weeks on June 5 issued orders to the heads of all branches of the army, calling for the elimination of officers who did not measure up to military standards of efficiency. Under the instructions, officers who did not give satisfaction in one branch of the service were to be tried out in some other, and those who failed to measure up to standard in any of the positions to which they might be assigned were to become subject to discharge or retirement on small pay under the provisions of a recent law.

Memorial services were held May 23 at the army piers, Hoboken, N. J., in honor of

5,212 American war dead, brought back on the transport *Wheaton* from the military cemeteries of France. President Harding made an address which was marked by deep emotion. Standing among the flag-draped wooden coffins, the President's voice broke as he told of "one hundred thousand sorrows touching my heart."

"It must not be again," he declared firmly. Then he stopped. His eyes filled. His voice thickened. "It must not be again," he repeated reverently, as he placed a wreath upon the coffin of the first American soldier to die in action on German soil, Private Joseph W. Guyton of Michigan, killed May 24, 1918, on the Alsace front.

SHELL-SHOCKED MEN CURED

Forty per cent. of the 200 shell-shocked soldiers, treated at the Mendota State Hospital for the Insane in Wisconsin, were sent home cured, largely because of the work in occupational therapy started in October, 1919, under the direction of Dr. W. F. Lorenz, Professor of Neuro-Psychiatry at the University of Wisconsin. The work was begun with eight students, who were taught weaving, basketry and carpentry to draw their minds away from morbid memories. The number of patients was gradually increased, and the scope of their work was broadened when the Government suggested that automobile repairing and landscape gardening be added to their avocations. Of all the disability caused by the war, 27 per cent. was mental.

The Senate on May 24 by a vote of 45 to 23 refused to reduce the enlisted personnel of the navy from 120,000 to 100,000 men, and in subsequent votes sustained the position of the Committee on Naval Affairs on other important questions which are the subject of controversy between those who favor a radical reduction in naval expenditures and those who contend for a continu-

ance of the 1916 building program and the maintenance of the enlisted force at not fewer than 120,000 men. Party lines were forgotten, 31 Republicans and 14 Democrats voting for a navy of 120,000 men, while 13 Republicans and 10 Democrats voted for the 100,000 maximum fixed in the bill as it was passed by the House. Both Senators Lodge and Underwood, the party leaders of the Senate, supported the larger personnel.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL

The Naval Appropriation bill, carrying \$494,000,000 for the maintenance of the sea force in the coming fiscal year and for continuing the 1916 building program, was passed by the Senate, June 1, by a vote of 54 to 17, party lines breaking, with 38 Republicans and 16 Democrats voting for and 12 Democrats and 5 Republicans voting against the bill as amended by the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. The bill then went to the House with every prospect of a spirited fight between the conferees of the House and the Senate. The former body fixed upon a figure \$98,000,000 smaller than that provided for in the Senate measure.

SPEECH OF ADMIRAL SIMS

A sensation was created by a speech delivered in London, June 7, by Rear Admiral William S. Sims, in which he made caustic comment on Sinn Fein activities in this country. The Senate on June 9 passed without division a resolution introduced by Senator Harrison of Mississippi calling for an investigation of the incident, and Secretary Denby sent a cablegram to the Admiral on June 8 calling upon him to report immediately whether he was correctly quoted.

The part of the speech which evoked comment was quoted in the London newspapers as follows, after his references to movements to promote friendship and co-operation between England and America:

That involved some unpopularity with certain of our hyphenated citizens on the other side. In this connection I may remark that it has been said that I was opposed to anything Irish. The cause of that was certain articles which I published in which I told the simple, plain truth as to actions of the Sinn Fein faction in reference to our troops during the war.

They, the Sinn Feiners, had not the material equipment to attack us directly, but they attacked us indirectly and very dangerously. Forces had to be diverted from their legitimate duties to escort troops and merchant ships. That diminution of escort caused a great many ships to be sunk and a great many lives to be lost.

That is the simple statement I made in my book. I have made it on various occasions on the other side at meetings called to counteract the propaganda, and I intend to keep on making it.

We find a certain class of people on the other side who are technically American citizens. Some of them are naturalized and some of them were born there, but they are not Americans at all, because they are carrying on war against America today. They are carrying on war against you, because they are trying to hold up relations between the two countries.

I have not hesitated to say of these "Americans" and Sinn Fein sympathizers that the whole truth of the business is that there is the blood of English and American boys on their hands. They don't like that, of course. These men are two-faced. They are Americans when they want money and they are Sinn Feiners on the platform. They are like a zebra—they are either a black horse with white stripes or a white horse with black stripes—but we Americans know perfectly well that they are not horses at all, and strongly suspect that they are asses.

But note this point, please. Each one of these asses has a vote and there are a lot of them. The consequence was that American-born citizens found it necessary to cater for those votes—that was one of the inconveniences of a republic—which created a wrong impression on this side. Those who understand the situation, however, know how much importance to attach to the resolutions in favor of the Irish which were forced by those jackass votes.

The Irish question is partly an American question. Eleven years ago I made a prophecy that came true. I will venture on another now. The English-speaking peoples are coming together in the bonds of comradeship, and they are going to run this round globe. I should like to see an inter-English-speaking policy and when we have that we shall have peace and prosperity.

In his reply to Secretary Denby's cablegram the Admiral said that some parts of the speech to which objection had been taken were garbled. He stated that he had said nothing in his speech which he had not said before in his book and in addresses which he had made in the United States. He added that he was returning at once to the United States in response to the Secretary's summons. The Admiral made his farewells to numerous friends and sailed for New York on June 15.

NEW SHIPPING BOARD

After a long effort to find the man best fitted to be the Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, the President on June 8 sent to the Senate the nomination of Albert D. Lasker of Chicago, Ill., as Chairman for a term of six years. At the same time the following six other members of the board were nominated:

O'CONNOR, T. V., of New York, for a term of five years.

CHAMBERLAIN, GEORGE E., of Oregon, for a term of four years.

PLUMMER, EDWARD C., of Maine., for a term of three years.

THOMPSON, FREDERICK I., of Alabama, for a term of two years.

LISSNER, MEYER, of California, for a term of one year.

BENSON, Admiral WILLIAM S., of Georgia, for a term of one year.

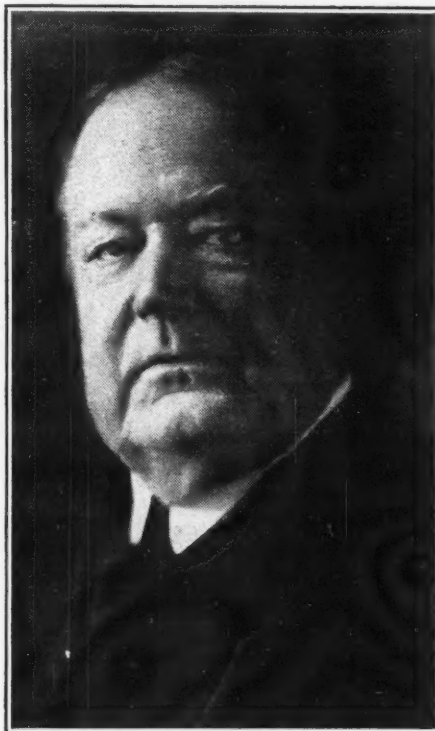
Messrs. Lasker, O'Connor, Plummer and Lissner are Republicans and the other three appointees are Democrats. Mr. Lasker is the head of the Lord & Thomas Advertising Agency of Chicago and has large interests in other important business enterprises. He is noted for unflagging energy and marked executive and administrative ability.



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ALBERT D. LASKER

Chicago advertising man who has been appointed head of the Shipping Board



CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE

Venerable jurist who died suddenly at Washington on May 19, 1921

DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS

By a vote of 74 to 0 the Senate on May 25 adopted the Borah amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill, which authorized and requested the President to ask Great Britain and Japan to hold a conference with the United States on the subject of reducing naval armaments. The amendment read:

The President is authorized and requested to invite the Governments of Great Britain and Japan to send representatives to a conference, which shall be charged with the duty of promptly entering into an understanding or agreement by which the naval expenditures and building programs of each of said Governments, to wit, the United States, Great Britain and Japan, shall be substantially reduced annually during the next five years to such an extent and upon such terms as may be agreed upon, which understanding or agreement is to be reported to the respective Governments for approval.

On June 7 the House of Representatives by a vote of 232 to 110 sent the Naval bill to conference without instructions to its



JAMES M. BECK
*New Solicitor General of the United States,
 succeeding Mr. Frierson*

conferees. Through this course the House left its conferees free to substitute the Porter disarmament resolution for the Borah amendment. It was known that President Harding objected to the limiting provisions of the Borah amendment which left him no choice to invite other nations than Great Britain and Japan to a disarmament conference or to include the limitation of armies as well as navies. The Porter resolution gave this wider latitude.

RIVAL PEACE RESOLUTIONS

The House of Representatives on June 13, by a vote of 305 to 61, passed the Porter resolution declaring a state of peace with Germany and the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. This resolution had been substituted by the House for the Knox resolution, which came from the Senate, and which, unlike the Porter resolution, contained a repeal of the original declaration of war. The Porter resolution was reported to the Senate on June 14. On motion of

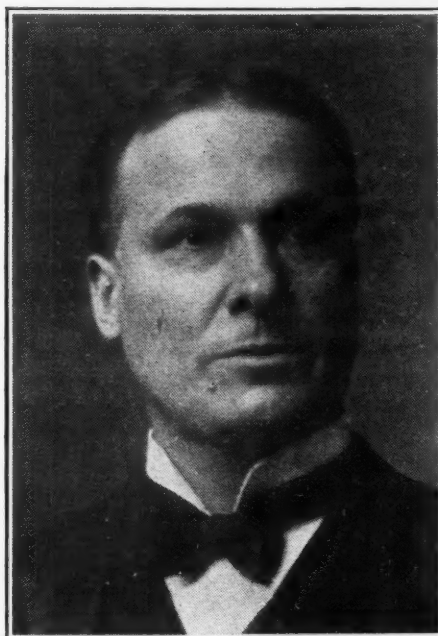
Senator Lodge, it was disapproved, and was sent to conference. A hard fight between the two legislative branches was in prospect when these pages went to press.

RAIL WAGE REDUCTION.

The United States Railroad Labor Board handed down an order on June 1, to become effective July 1, cutting wages of railway employes an average of 12 per cent. The order affected members of thirty-one labor organizations employed on 104 railroads and was estimated to mean a lessening of \$400,000,000 in the annual payrolls of the roads.

The decision grants reductions varying from 5 to 13 cents an hour, or from 5 to 10 per cent., and in the case of section laborers completely wipes out the increase granted that class of employes in the \$600,000,000 wage award of July 20, 1920. For section men the reduction is approximately 18 per cent. Switchmen and shop crafts get a 9 per cent. reduction, while the train service men are cut approximately 7 per cent. Car repairers are cut about 10 per cent.

Common labor pay, over which the railroads made their hardest fight, is to be reduced 6 to 8½ cents an hour, cutting



J. G. SCHURMAN
*Former President of Cornell University, now
 United States Minister to China*

freight truckers' average monthly wages to \$97.10 and track laborers' to \$77.11. The new schedule gives section men an average daily wage of \$3.02 for an eight-hour day, although considerable testimony offered by the roads, particularly in the South, showed common labor wages as low as \$1.50 for a ten-hour day.

Shop crafts employees and train and engine service men, except those in passenger service, are reduced 8 cents an hour. Construction and section foremen are reduced 10 cents an hour.

Passengers and freight engineers who received increases of 10 to 13 cents an hour by the 1920 award are to be cut 6 and 8 cents an hour, respectively. Passenger and freight conductors, who received increases of 12½ and 13 cents in 1920, are cut 7½ and 8 cents, respectively, by the new schedule.

Train dispatchers and yardmasters, whose monthly earnings at present average \$260 to \$270, are cut 8 cents an hour.

The attitude of the railway unions toward the decreases remained to be determined. The big brotherhoods were expected to meet on July 1 to consider the board's decision and determine on their course of action.

MINGO COUNTY UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Mingo County, W. Va., was declared in a state of insurrection and placed under martial law in a proclamation issued May 20 by Governor Morgan of that State. On the same day Adj. Gen. Thomas B. Davis arrived at Williamson and bearing the Governor's mandate under executive designation took supreme command of the campaign to restore a reign of law in the riot-stricken region. The proclamation did not contemplate any steps of undue harshness in enforcement of martial law, the writ of habeas corpus was not suspended, and it was especially ordered that the civil courts should continue to function.

The presence of the troops had a sobering effect, and, with the exception of some slight outbreaks, law and order were re-established and maintained.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND LIVING COSTS

A review of conditions made public by the Department of Labor on June 5 showed that the net increase in unemployment for

May over April was one-half of 1 per cent. A gratifying feature of the report was the statement that in spite of adverse conditions there was a prevalence of business optimism, with a marked tendency to con-



RICHARD WASHBURN CHILD
New American Ambassador to Italy, succeeding Thomas Nelson Page

strue the occasional bright spots as harbingers of early and permanent improvement.

Reports to the Labor Department up to May 19 indicated that the dollar earned and spent by the average family now would buy approximately 25 per cent. more than it would a year ago. The dollar now is worth approximately 65 cents, as compared with the pre-war dollar. In May a year ago, when prices were highest, the dollar was worth relatively only 37 cents. The increase is approximately 27 per cent. in value on the basis of a year ago. On this basis the nation's factory operatives now receive nearly \$100,000,000 more purchasing power for their work, despite wage re-

ductions which most of them agreed to stand. About 12,000,000 men and women normally are employed in shops, factories and industrial plants of the United States. A review by the Federal Wage Board



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DAVID H. BLAIR
*Of Winston-Salem, N. C., who has been Con-
firmed as Internal Revenue Commissioner*

showed that these were now averaging \$28.08 per week. A year ago the average was \$30.10, showing that the wage-cutting movement forced on employers by rising costs had reduced the average wage \$2.02.

INCREASED CAPITAL ASSETS TAXED

Through a decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 16, the contention of the Government that the increased value of any capital assets must be included in the profits of corporations when taxes are being computed was upheld. Justice Pitney handed down the decision, in which the

Court joined. Justice McReynolds concurred only in the result.

The Court ruled that the appreciated value of the capital assets could not be construed as and added to "invested capital," and held that as such it must be considered and computed as profits of the concern, and therefore subject to taxation under the Excess Profits act. The decision disposed of the plea also made that the act was unconstitutional. The decision established a precedent which will involve the disposition of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of invested capital.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

Enforcement of prohibition received a hard blow on June 1, when the United States Supreme Court held in a unanimous decision that former internal revenue laws were supplanted by the Volstead law and that the old penalties of internal revenue taxation could not be applied in addition to the penalties under the Volstead act. It was admitted by the "dry" leaders that hereafter prosecutions would have to be brought entirely under the Volstead act, the penalties of which are not so severe as those in the old revenue laws. Under the Volstead act, liquor manufactured illegally can be taxed, but the old penalties for defrauding the Government of taxes on liquor must not be applied.

BERGDOLL PROPERTY SEIZED

All of the property of Grover C. Bergdoll, draft dodger and now a fugitive in Germany, was seized May 27 by Colonel Thomas W. Miller, Alien Property Custodian, under the Trading With the Enemy act, at the personal direction of President Harding. Bergdoll now stands in the eyes of the Government an "enemy without rights of American citizenship." To regain his property he must return to the United States and prove his ownership. Even then Congress must act before he can return. But the moment he sets foot on American soil and applies for his property he will be subject to arrest and must serve out his five years' sentence as a deserter, with possibly an added penalty because of his escape while ostensibly hunting for his buried "pot of gold." The value of the property seized was over \$800,000.

On June 10 Mrs. Emma C. Bergdoll, mother of the Bergdoll brothers, convicted slackers and army deserters, saved herself and four co-defendants charged with conspiracy to aid Grover C. and Erwin R. Bergdoll to evade army service from going to jail by paying \$23,000 in fines imposed by the United States District Court.

TULSA RACE RIOTS

A disastrous race war broke out in Tulsa, Okla., May 31, and resulted in 33 deaths, of which nine were those of white men. A negro named Rowland had been arrested, accused of attacking a white orphan girl. Rumors flew through the black belt that he was about to be lynched and several hundred negroes heavily armed assembled before the County Court House in which Rowland was held, with the avowed purpose of preventing a lynching by force of arms. The police attempted to disperse them and were met with a volley of shots. The whites began to assemble, hardware and sporting goods houses were looted of arms, and as soon as the dawn came the whites began an invasion of the negro quarter. Negro snipers maintained a harassing fire from windows and rooftops, but the whites drove them away and set fire to the houses in the section. Some thirty blocks of the district were in flames and few houses escaped. By night forces of the State militia, who had been summoned, gained control of the situation and the rioting came to an end. Martial law was proclaimed and a vigorous investigation of the matter was begun.

FLOODS OVERWHELM PUEBLO

Flood waters of the Arkansas River, suddenly swollen by a great cloudburst fifteen miles west of Pueblo, Col., swept into and through the city on June 3, causing a loss of at least seventy lives and property damage variously estimated at from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000. The entire business section was inundated to a depth of from three to eighteen feet, bridges were swept away and all connection with the outside world was broken. There were heart-rending scenes as mothers rushed frantically about looking for their children. Fire added to the horrors of the situation. Vandals sought to take advantage of conditions

and there was much looting, which was finally checked by Rangers, National Guardsmen and civilians who were recruited for rescue work and to maintain law and order. After twenty-four hours, the waters which had been augmented by the tribute from broken dams, began to recede and the stricken people commenced the work of reconstruction, aided by contributions of money and supplies that poured in upon them from all parts of the country.

DEATH OF CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE

The death, at the age of 75, of Chief Justice Edward Douglass White of the Supreme Court of the United States, on May 19, was a distinct loss to American jurisprudence. He had had a varied career as soldier, lawyer, legislator and jurist, and in each sphere had displayed eminent ability and won the honor and affection of his countrymen. He was born in Lafourche Parish, La., Nov. 3, 1845; received his education at Mount St. Mary's College, Maryland, and at the Jesuit College in New Orleans, and during the war served in the Confederate Army. Following the war, he studied law and was admitted to the Louisiana bar. He was State Senator in 1874, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana in 1878 and United States Senator from 1889 to 1894. In the latter year President Cleveland made him an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. In 1910 President Taft appointed him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, despite the fact that Justice White was a Democrat. He took part in many memorable decisions, and it was he who laid down the "rule of reason" in trust cases.

IMPORTANT NOMINATIONS

On May 17, President Harding sent to the Senate the nominations of Richard Washburn Child of Massachusetts to be Ambassador to Italy and Jacob Gould Schurman of New York to be Minister to China.

Mr. Child was born in Worcester, Mass., in 1881. He graduated from Harvard in 1903. In politics he has been an active Progressive. He was at one time editor of Collier's Weekly. During the war he was engaged in war finance work at Washington. He is widely known as a writer of books and a contributor to magazines of both stories and critical articles.

Dr. Schurman has been well known as President of Cornell University, from which he resigned in 1920. He served as President of the first Philippine Commission in 1899, and in 1912-13 he was Minister to Montenegro and Greece. He is prominent as an author and lecturer. He is 67 years old.

Attorney General Daugherty announced on May 19 that he had recommended the appointment of James M. Beck of New York as Solicitor General of the Department of Justice, to succeed William M. Frierson, the present incumbent. It was expected that he would assume his new duties July 1.

Mr. Beck has held public office before. He was appointed Assistant Attorney General by President McKinley and held the

same office under President Roosevelt. During the war he wrote an article entitled "In the Supreme Court of Civilization," in which he presented the case against Germany from a lawyer's standpoint. This was published in the January, 1915, issue of CURRENT HISTORY. Later on the article was published in book form under the title "The Evidence in the Case." It was translated into several languages and had a wide circulation abroad.

Following a debate in secret executive session that lasted more than four hours, the Senate on May 26 confirmed the nomination of David Blair of Winston-Salem, N. C., to be Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The vote was 59 to 15 in favor of confirmation.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

The Washington Government's acceptance of the invitation to participate in interallied councils—Ambassador Harvey's address in London, explaining the American policy, gains world-wide attention—The Yap controversy

MANY recent developments have tended to clarify the foreign policy of the United States Government. Foremost among these are the diplomatic exchanges with Japan concerning the Island of Yap, the acceptance of the allied invitation to send representatives to the Supreme Council, the Conference of Ambassadors and the Reparation Commission, and the address made by George Harvey, the Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, at the Pilgrims' dinner in London.

The refusal of the United States to act as mediator in the matter of the German reparations had important repercussions on our foreign policy. The fact that the Washington Government had even considered taking any part in the matter was interpreted by the Allies as a departure from the former American attitude of aloofness, to which they had more or less resigned themselves after the Senate's failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Hope was

reawakened of America's closer co-operation with the Allies in the readjustment of the world's affairs.

A formal invitation to this effect was extended to the United States Government on May 5 by Premier Lloyd George, as President of the Allied Conference. The following statement, embodying the invitation and the response of this Government, was made public by Secretary Hughes on May 6:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, May 6, 1921.

The following message, addressed to the Government of the United States by the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, as President of the Allied Conference now sitting in London, was delivered by the British Ambassador to the Secretary of State on May 5, 1921:

"As President of the Allied Conference, which is just completing its sittings in London, I am authorized, with the unanimous concurrence of all the powers here represented, to express to the United States Government our feeling that the settlement of the international difficulties in which the

world is still involved would be materially assisted by the co-operation of the United States; and I am, therefore, to inquire whether that Government is disposed to be represented in the future, as it was at an earlier date, at allied conferences, wherever they may meet, at the Ambassadors' Conference, which sits at Paris, and on the Reparations Commission.

"We are united in feeling that American cognizance of our proceedings and, where possible, American participation in them will be best facilitated by this."

The following reply of the Government of the United States to the above message was communicated by the Secretary of State to the British Ambassador on May 6, 1921:

"The Government of the United States has received through the British Ambassador the courteous communication in which you state that, with the unanimous concurrence of the powers represented at the Allied Conference in London, you are to inquire whether this Government is disposed to be represented in the future, as it was in the past, at allied conferences, at the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris and on the Reparations Commission.

"The Government of the United States, while maintaining the traditional policy of abstention from participation in matters of distinctly European concern, is deeply interested in the proper encouragements and in the just settlement of matters of world-wide importance which are under discussion in these conferences, and desires helpfully to co-operate in the deliberations upon these questions.

"George Harvey, appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, will be instructed on his arrival in England to take part as the representative of the President of the United States in the deliberations of the Supreme Council. The American Ambassador to France will be instructed to resume his place as unofficial observer on the Conference of Ambassadors, and Mr. Roland W. Boyden will be instructed to sit again in an unofficial capacity on the Reparation Commission.

"The Government of the United States notes with pleasure your expression of the belief of the representatives of the allied Governments assembled in London that American co-operation in the settlement of the great international questions growing out of the World War will be of material assistance."

Gratification was expressed by the allied press and in allied official circles over this decision, and when, later on, Ambassador Wallace and Mr. Boyden took their places as unofficial observers in the sessions respectively of Ambassadors and of the Reparation Commission, they received a cordial welcome.

CORRESPONDENCE ON YAP

The importance of the situation growing out of the controversy over the status of the former German Island of Yap in the North Pacific was emphasized by correspondence made public April 18 by Secretary of State Hughes. The documents given out included three American and two Japanese notes exchanged in the past six months. Their publication revealed that the determination with which each Government maintained its position was developing a situation of considerable tension between them.

The tone of some of the Japanese notes was curt and betrayed considerable feeling. They maintained that Japan regarded any exclusion of Yap from the Japanese mandate over North Pacific islands as a "question of grave concern to Japan," and one on which the Japanese delegation to the Peace Conference had "invariably maintained a firm attitude." They contended that as long ago as May 7, 1919, the Supreme Council of the Allies at Paris made a "final" decision to place the "whole" of the German islands north of the Equator under Japanese control, with "no reservations whatever" regarding Yap.

The United States Government was informed that "the Japanese Government would be unable to consent" to any proposition which, reversing the decision of the Supreme Council, would exclude Yap from the territory "committed to their charge." In very pointed fashion the Japanese Government called on the United States "to prove not merely the fact" that President Wilson and Secretary Lansing had made reservations concerning Yap, but also to prove that the Supreme Council had "decided in favor of such reservations."

Throughout the correspondence Japan endeavored to make the question of "fact" as to whether reservations had been made by President Wilson and Secretary Lansing a determinative one. The American stand, as revealed by the correspondence, was that the question of fact was a subordinate issue. This Government held that that question was settled, not only by the reservations claimed to have been made, but again specifically and unequivocally by President Wilson himself in his memorandum of March 3, 1921, to the State Department.

The United States therefore believed that the question of fact had been determined definitely and had no intention of entertaining any imputation of bad faith from any foreign Government. This matter, however, was brushed aside as of minor importance. The essential features of this letter appeared in May CURRENT HISTORY.

In his reply to the Japanese note of Feb. 26, Secretary Hughes laid down the fundamental principle that the right to dispose of Germany's former overseas possessions was acquired only through the victory of this country and the Allies, and that there could be no valid or effective disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany now under consideration "without the assent of the United States," which assent had never been given. This Government therefore "cannot recognize the allocation of the Island of Yap or the validity of the mandate to Japan."

It was announced at Washington on May 23 that the State Department had received a communication from the Japanese Government bearing on the Yap controversy. The text was not made public, but it was authoritatively stated that the officials of this Government were satisfied with the progress made toward a solution of the problem. The tone of the Japanese note was courteous, in marked contrast to some of its predecessors.

Statements have been issued by France and Italy indicating that they upheld the contention of the United States. The essential part of the French note was published in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

AMBASSADOR HARVEY'S ADDRESS

George Harvey, the United States Ambassador to Great Britain, made a notable address on May 19 at a dinner given by the Pilgrims in London to welcome him to his new post. The part of his speech which attracted world-wide attention was this:

There still seems to linger in the minds of many here, as, indeed, of a few at home, the impression that in some way or other, by hook or by crook, unwittingly and surely unwillingly, the United States may be beguiled into the League of Nations. Now let me show you how utterly absurd any such notion is. I need not recall the long contest waged between the two branches of our Government over this proposal. I need hardly mention that the conflict became so sharp

that even the treaty went by the board, to the end that today, paradoxically enough, America continues to be technically at war, but actually at peace, while Europe is nominally at peace, but, according to all reports, not wholly free from the clash of arms.

Finally, as you know, the question of America's participation in the League came before the people and the people decided against it by a majority of 7,000,000 out of a total vote of 25,000,000. Prior to that election there had been much discussion of the real meaning of the word mandate. There has been little since a single example provided the definition. A majority of 7,000,000 clearly conveyed a mandate that could neither be misunderstood nor disregarded.

Anybody could see that it follows then inevitably and irresistibly that our present Government could not without betrayal of its creators and masters, and will not, I can assure you, have anything whatsoever to do with the League or with any commission or committee appointed by it or responsible to it, directly or indirectly, openly or furtively.

No disclaimer from President Harding or Secretary Hughes indicated that the Ambassador's views were other than those of the Administration.

NO INTERVENTION IN SILESIA

Through the Polish Minister in Washington, Prince Casimir Lubomirski, the Government of Poland on May 11 addressed a long communication to Secretary Hughes, reciting its arguments for the assigning of certain districts of Upper Silesia to Poland. Prince Lubomirski asked Secretary Hughes to instruct Ambassador Harvey, Ambassador Wallace and Mr. Boyden, the American representatives respectively in the allied Supreme Council, the Council of Ambassadors and the Reparation Commission, to "throw their influence in favor of the principles of justice, humanity and the rights of these masses of Polish workmen by settling the Upper Silesian problem strictly according to the Treaty of Versailles and the result of the plebiscite."

Secretary Hughes replied May 14 that the dispute was a matter "in which, in accord with the traditional policy of the United States," this Government should not become involved. Representatives of the United States in Europe have been instructed that, "as far as at present may be seen," they are to take no part in the discussions concerning Upper Silesia and "express no opinion" as to the settlement.

DUTCH OIL FIELD NEGOTIATIONS

The State Department on May 12 made public a summary of the reply of the Netherlands Government to the latest note of Secretary Hughes insisting on equal rights for Americans in the development of oil concessions in the Dutch East Indies as a condition on which Dutch concerns would be allowed to participate in similar development of public lands in the United States.

The Dutch Government stated that when American Minister Phillips requested last January that United States companies be permitted to participate in the Djambi concessions, the law limiting this development to Dutch concerns, which since had been passed by the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament, already had been drafted and the question of its approval by Parliament settled. The American Minister, however, called attention to the fact that prior to the introduction of the bill he had made representations on the subject of American participation.

A statement was authorized by the State Department that equal opportunities for Americans in Dutch oil territory would be insisted upon and that, failing such equality accorded, exclusion of Dutch interests from the American oil fields would follow.

It was stated on May 31 that a new note was addressed by Secretary Hughes to the

Dutch Government embodying the foregoing views. The text was not made public.

MONROE DOCTRINE REAFFIRMED

With fitting ceremonies the United States and the City of New York, on April 19, accepted Venezuela's gift of the statue of the South American liberator, General Simon Bolivar. The salient feature of the occasion was the declaration by President Harding, who made the unveiling address, that this country was willing to fight, if necessary, for the preservation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Speaking slowly, so that his words would gather emphasis, the President declared that much of the new world's accomplishments had been due to democracies. Then, after referring to the wilful misunderstanding of the Monroe Doctrine by older nations, he added:

"The history of the generations since that doctrine was proclaimed has proved that we never intended it selfishly; that we had no dreams of exploitation. On the other side, the history of the last decade certainly must have convinced all the world that we stand willing to fight, if necessary, to protect this continent and these sturdy young democracies from oppression and tyranny."

THE PRESIDENT'S POWER OVER CABLES

CABLE landing permits are formally vested in the authority of the President, who has full power to grant or refuse access to the territory of the United States or its possessions by a bill finally passed by Congress on May 23. The bill was presented owing to a suit in the Supreme Court begun by the Western Union Telegraph Company to compel the authorities to permit landing of a cable from the Barbados at Miami, Fla. President Wilson had re-

fused to allow it because the company intended to connect with a British line having a monopoly of cable communication in Brazil; he objected to having an American concern linked with a monopoly, and President Harding followed his example. The Western Union brought suit in the Supreme Court, and the new law was enacted to remove any doubt of the President's power, its passage being in the nature of a race between legislation and a court decision.



(Photo Elizabeth L. McQueen)

VIEW OF JAFFA, PALESTINE, WITH THE BATTERY THAT FIRED THE SALUTE UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, SIR HERBERT SAMUEL

A HISTORIC EVENT IN PALESTINE

BY ELIZABETH L. MCQUEEN

An eyewitness description of the landing of Sir Herbert Samuel at Jaffa, and of the ceremonies that marked the moment when the Holy Land, so long under Moslem rule, passed under the civil sway of Great Britain through an allied mandate

A SMALL gathering of people, furnished with special passes, witnessed the landing of Sir Herbert Samuel at Jaffa, Palestine, on June 30, 1920, to act as High Commissioner under the mandate exercised by Great Britain. The day was fine, typical of Palestine, hot and clear. The waterfront was beflagged, a carpet was laid from the landing along the beach, and a marquee had been spread on the shady side of the Custom House for the reception of the titled and distinguished Jew whom the British had sent to govern Palestine. The huddled old houses of Jaffa looked down from the hill upon the event, which bade fair to have a lasting effect on history.

It was my privilege to be one of the few witnesses of the High Commissioner's arrival. The situation at the time in Palestine was such that every military and police precaution had been taken to protect the new official, and the atmosphere was tense with expectancy, as there were many rumors afloat as to what the Arabs were going to do. The majority of them seemed to be unwilling to make any demonstration

of welcome, and were noticeably absent. Wild rumors that a plot was brewing to kill the new administrator were secretly whispered, but the military authorities knew the situation and how to handle it. For several days previous to the landing of Sir Herbert Samuel, airplanes manoeuvred over Jerusalem and Jaffa, keeping a watchful eye on the district; British military officers had been particularly busy, and several arrests had been made, which put a stop to secret plots.

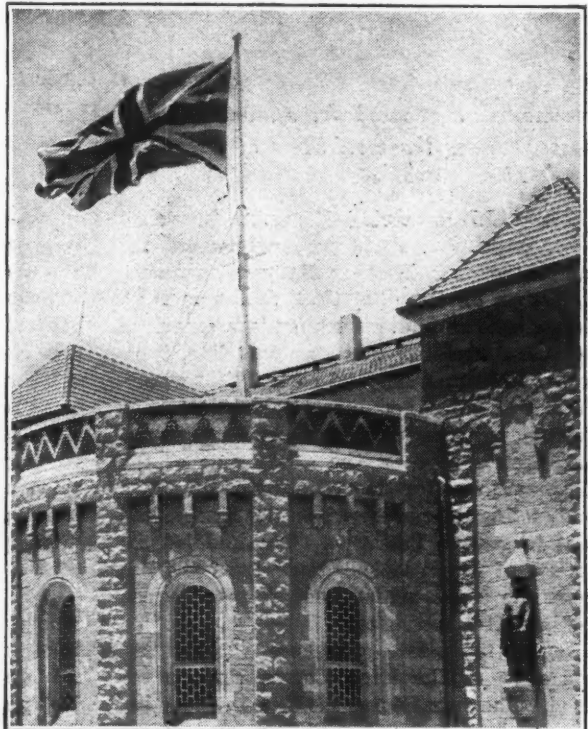
On going down into the town of Jaffa on the morning of this important day, I found Indian cavalry stationed in the square in front of the Governor's House, and groups of notables awaiting their turn to proceed to the landing place to welcome Sir Herbert Samuel. I noticed particularly the patriarchal figure of a Jewish rabbi, made distinctive by a long white beard. The population of the little seaport was in holiday attire, and the streets were decorated here and there, but it would be an exaggeration to say that any special enthusiasm was being manifested, or that joy over this

event was at all general. In fact, there seemed to be a wet blanket dampening the spirits of the people. Everybody was more or less apprehensive; the Jews feared that something would happen to their new spokesman, and the Arabs feared that their liberties might be curtailed and their country taken from them. The prevailing state of mind was cleverly expressed by a person well versed in the political situation, who said that for the first month the new High Commissioner would need a body-guard to protect him against the Arabs, but that thereafter he would need a body-guard to protect him against the Jews. Those who knew him declared that he was 100 per cent. English, so that there could be no danger that equal rights would be sacrificed under his administration. Still, the outlook was not reassuring, and this was evidently the opinion of the crowd. Many Arabs, indeed, remained indoors to signify their disapproval of the whole proceeding.

Out upon the road leading to the beach I found other detachments of Indian cavalry guarding and clearing the streets. A battery of British guns clattered down to the beach and took up its position to fire the official welcome. The sea was like a mirror and of that exquisite blue which is characteristic of the Mediterranean. By contrast the yellow sands gleamed invitingly, and a gentle surf murmured up to the feet of the waiting soldiers. Peter, staying at the house of one Simon, the tanner, in this very place, somewhere among the houses overlooking the beach, could never have seen a fairer day than the one which greeted Sir Herbert Samuel. In fact, a few rods away, tanners were still busy at their trade, soaking the hides in the salt water as they must have done of old.

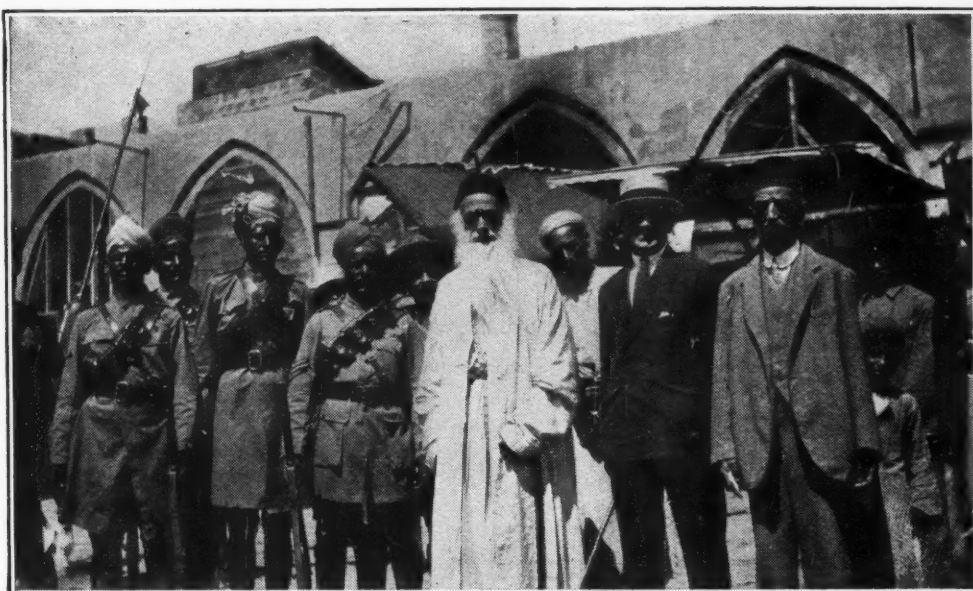
With swinging step the guard of honor marched to its position at the landing place, and all was attention for the expected arrival. The small harbor of Jaffa is closed to large ships

by a line of jagged rocks, so that passengers must reach their ships or the shore in rowboats. About 11 A. M. a British destroyer, gray and trim, came to anchor in the offing, and Colonel Rowland Storrs, Military Governor of Jerusalem, acting for General Bols, the retiring Chief Administrator of Palestine, was rowed out to the warship to greet the High Commissioner. Not long after, the barge bearing the New Administration was seen approaching the landing place through the narrow passage between the rocks. It was observed that Sir Herbert Samuel was dressed in white, and that he wore a purple scarf with a new decoration conferred upon him by the English King. A salute of guns was now fired by the man-of-war and the battery on the beach alternately, officially announcing the arrival. The guard of honor saluted, the band played "God Save the King," and airplanes flew overhead.



(Photo Elizabeth L. McQueen)

GERMAN HOSPICE ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, NEAR JERUSALEM, WITH THE BRITISH FLAG FLYING OVER IT FOR THE FIRST TIME. THE KAISER'S STATUE IS STILL IN THE NICHE ON THE RIGHT



A VENERABLE JEWISH RABBI, WITH INDIAN TROOPS, AWAITING THE ARRIVAL OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE AT JAFFA



(Times Wide World Photos)

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL

High Commissioner for Palestine

In the marquee the Mayor of Jaffa, Assem-el-Saïd, made the following address to his Excellency:

As President of the Jaffa Municipal Council, I beg to welcome you, and to express to you our congratulations on your safe arrival in the Holy Land. This country is in great need of a British High Commissioner, who will justly, firmly, thoroughly and ably investigate the conditions and the needs of the country in all respects. From the depths of our hearts, we desire that this town and country, with all its inhabitants, shall find happiness under the shield and protection of the British nation, the foundation of whose Governments throughout the world is based on justice, freedom and equality for all sects and denominations. May Almighty God help us all in our efforts to do what is right and peaceful. I beg to place this short address of welcome in a casket made in our beloved country, and I hope you will kindly accept it with our most profound respect.

The High Commissioner replied in appropriate terms. He then reviewed the guard of honor, and the notables of Palestine, who were present by invitation, were introduced to him by the Governor of Jerusalem. The Commissioner then walked toward the official motor car for the trip to Ludd en route to Jerusalem. At this moment Colonel Grey Donald, head of the Public Works of Palestine, took a small Union Jack from his pocket and fastened it to the front of the car. This seemingly insigni-

nificant act was really momentous, for it was the first official display of the British flag in Palestine, although that country had been under a British military administration for more than two years. This as denoted that Great Britain had now assumed the mandate over Palestine—subject to formal confirmation by the League of Nations.

Escorted by Indian cavalry, the car now sped on its way toward Jerusalem, which was reached that afternoon, over a route which was changed several times from the original program to insure safety. At Ludd, Sir Herbert took a special train to Jerusalem, escorted by two airplanes. The arrival at Jerusalem was under the immediate supervision of the popular Assistant Administrator of Palestine, Colonel E. L. Popham, who was very active in all the reforms introduced by the military administration.

The new High Commissioner was met at the Jerusalem station at 3 P. M. by Colonel Popham and other officers and was introduced to members of the Jerusalem municipality. The Mayor, Nashashiby, delivered the following address:

This Holy City welcomes your Excellency, the High Commissioner, deputed by his Majesty the King of Great Britain, the greatest sovereign in the world, to represent his Majesty in the administration of this country and to bring happiness to its inhabitants, to mark the path of their progress and their prosperity, and to preserve the balance of equal justice among them, without distinction or difference. These are the aims of the Government of Great Britain in all the territories which she administers. We confidently look to the help of the British Nation, the Mother of Liberty and Peace, for the development and progress of the country. We pray the Almighty that your arrival may signify the commencement of a period of welfare and happiness. We note with pleasure the especial privileges with which the Almighty has endowed you; the capacity, cul-

ture and experience which have rendered you famous, and which are the marks of that high ability which your exalted office demands.

After the departure of Sir Herbert Samuel from Jaffa, the city again took up its daily habits as though nothing vital had occurred. The Arabs strolled down to the beach and sat on little stools drinking their coffee. The usual collection of little boys plunged into the bay and strings of orphans led by teachers marched to the water side for their daily bath. With the waning afternoon the camels brought their wares to the Custom House; a British officer rode his horse into the sea and then gave him a roll on the sand. A few fishermen were diving for sea food near the line of outer rocks, and some fishing boats returned to the beach with their day's catch. Distant sails were seen on the horizon and a glorious sunset with the serenity of the evening settled upon the Joppa of Bible times, which on this day, when the British mandate took effect in Palestine and the Union Jack flew for the first time in the Holy Land, had added a new page to its fame.

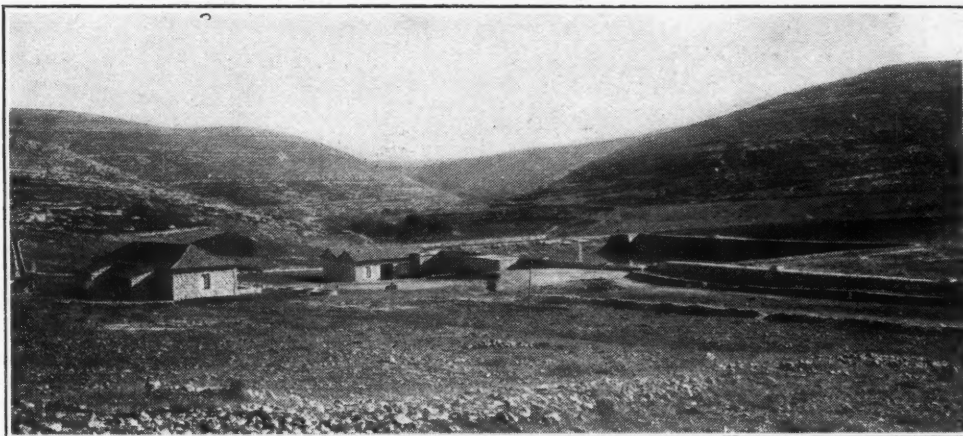
In looking back upon this experience in Jaffa, I recall the fact that I found only three Americans at this noted event, one of whom upon request sent out the official cable news of the addresses.

In the meantime, in Jerusalem, General Bols received the new High Commissioner at military headquarters on the Mount of Olives and then took his departure for England, followed by numerous other officials. The British military administration, with its notable victories, had ceased and was now replaced by a civil administration designed to carry out the Balfour resolution and to work out, if possible, through peaceful progress, the many problems confronting the Holy Land.

THE NEW FIELD MUSEUM IN CHICAGO

THE new Field Museum on the Lake Front of Chicago, one of the handsomest of its kind in the world, was thrown open to the public on May 3, 1921. All the contents of the old Field Museum in Jackson Park, a relic of the World's Fair, were transported to their new habitat at the cost

of two years' hard labor, and an expense of between six and eight million dollars. The museum and its palatial quarters are a gift to Chicago made by the late Marshall Field. The old building in the former World's Fair grounds now becomes a recreation centre for the State of Illinois.



(Photo American Colony, Jerusalem)

JERUSALEM'S NEW WATERWORKS, THIRTEEN MILES SOUTH OF THE CITY, WITH THE OLD RESERVOIR OF PONTIUS PILATE, BUILT IN THE TIME OF CHRIST. THE RESERVOIR HAS BEEN ENLARGED, AND VARIOUS SPRINGS IN THE DISTRICT NOW FILL IT CONSTANTLY WITH PURE WATER

DRINKING FROM PONTIUS PILATE'S RESERVOIR

BY HAROLD J. SHEPSTONE

How Jerusalem has been supplied with an abundance of pure water by British engineers who have applied modern science to cisterns and reservoirs of the time of Christ

NOT the least of the blessings which the British occupation has conferred upon Palestine is the giving of an ample water supply to Jerusalem. Prior to this, the Holy City was dependent upon the local rainfall for its water. The rain was collected and stored in cisterns, many of which were situated under the houses or at the back of the premises. Water gathered during the rains on the flat roofs was conducted to the cisterns by pipes, and there stored until wanted.

Jeremiah speaks of these cisterns, when he represents the Lord as saying: "My people have committed two evils: they have forsaken Me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Many of these ancient cisterns were found by the British to be in a sad state of repair, and were breeding places of disease. The military authorities had them thoroughly renovated; some had not been cleaned for a hundred years and more.

But the cisterns were not sufficient to

supply the city's needs. So long as Jerusalem was under Turkish rule, the city suffered from the lack of a good water supply. Except for one small spring, the Virgin's Fount, so named because it is believed that it was here the Virgin washed her son's swaddling clothes, Jerusalem cannot boast of a single fountain. And even this spring is situated outside the city, in the Kedron Valley.

A year or two before the war, it is true, the Turks built a four-inch pipe which ran from the Pools of Solomon, south of Bethlehem, to the Temple area; but the water supply from this source was limited and for the most part reserved for the mosque. Even in King Solomon's days the want of water was felt, and he obtained his supplies from three reservoirs built in a valley below Bethlehem. From these pools water was brought to the city by an aqueduct.

Over and over again, engineers and others offered to repair these reservoirs and to build a modern pipe line, but the Turks rejected all proposals. Their excuse was either

the general unrest of the country, or the assertion that the conditions imposed made the scheme impracticable. The result was that Jerusalem, the largest and most important city in Palestine, was forced to depend upon the scanty rainfall.

Early in February, 1918, less than three months after the capture of Jerusalem, the Royal Engineers began to grapple with this problem. They went first to the Virgin's Fount and made an exhaustive study of this historic and interesting spring. It was found to be no ordinary intermittent spring, but rather a fountain of the character of a geyser, for the flow occurs from three to eight times a day, the output varying from 2,000 to 11,000 gallons at each spurt.

It will be recalled that it was from this spring that Hezekiah, over 2,600 years ago, conveyed water by means of a tunnel to the Pool of Siloam, famed in connection with the story of the healing of the man blind from birth. The British laid pipes from the spring, and water was pumped to tanks in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, near the northeastern corner of the city walls.

Although this was a great improvement, the supply was still found to be insufficient for the needs of the ever-growing city. An examination was then made of the Pools of Solomon, to the south of Bethlehem. In the end, however, it was decided to repair and use the old reservoir, now known as Birkett Arroub, lying a few miles south of Pools of Solomon. This reservoir was built by Pontius Pilate, and it was from here that he brought water to the city. History records how Pilate took money from the Temple treasury with which to construct a water supply.

Pilate's old reservoir has now been repaired and enlarged so that it has a capacity of 5,000,000 gallons. Galleries have been built in various directions to tap the numerous surrounding springs, including those of Ain der Dirweh, in which, it is alleged, Philip baptized the eunuch. A powerful pumping plant was installed, by which the water is now pumped to large reservoirs built on higher ground on the Hebron road, the water flowing from here by its own gravity in a one-foot iron pipe to twin pools on the hill west of the city, whence it is conducted to various standpipes in and around Jerusalem.

Pilate's aqueduct, ruins of which still dot the landscape, stretched for a distance of

forty miles, though as the crow flies the Holy City lies but thirteen miles away. This great extension was necessary in order to circumvent the intervening hills. The British pipe line, however, is but fifteen miles in total length. As one of the natives remarked to the engineer, it is driving a stream uphill. The home of the guardians of the water tanks stands on the very spot where the Turks surrendered the Holy City to the British on Dec. 9, 1917.

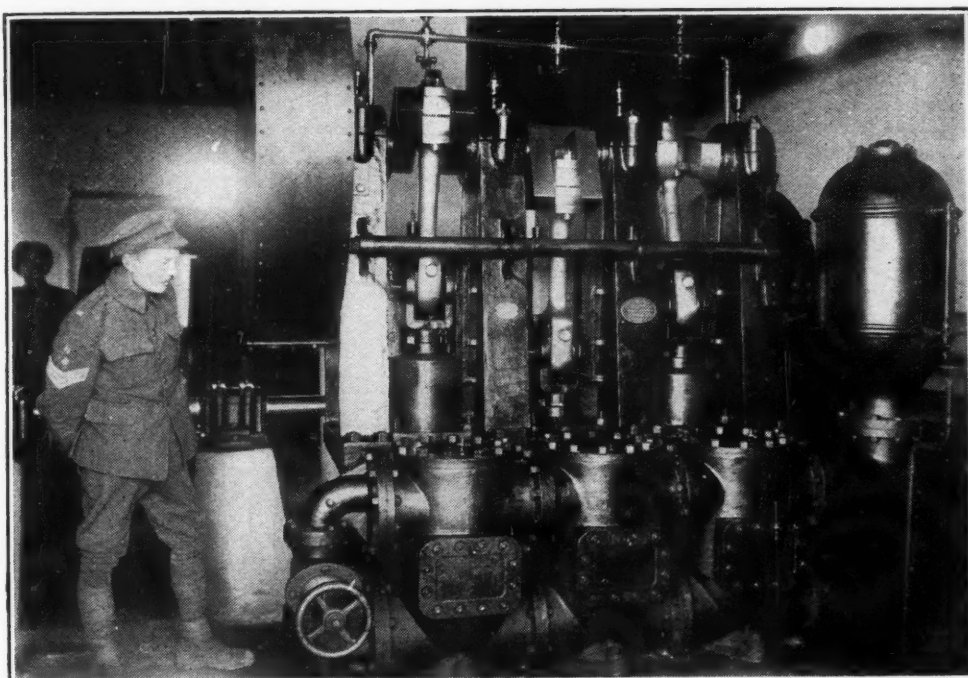
For the first time since the days of Solomon and of Pontius Pilate, Jerusalem now has an abundant supply of fresh water. What is more, the water is free. The only people who have complained are the water peddlers. Moreover, the death rate of the city has dropped by one-half.

In a like manner the water supply of the country towns and villages has been overhauled. Ancient Jericho now has pure water in abundance, brought by pipes from Elisha's Fountain, which lies to the west. Travelers journeying from Jerusalem to the Jordan and the Dead Sea are now assured of good drinking water in place of the fouled water that formerly came through the ditches by the roadside from the distant fountain. Elisha's Fountain is undoubtedly the source whose waters healed that prophet on his return from the memorable walk across the plain to and beyond the Jordan, which ended in his translation.

Beersheba, Palestine's most southern city, has also its own water supply, raised from one of its old wells, which was undoubtedly in existence in Abraham's time. Beersheba, in fact, means "seven wells," and they have all been identified, cleaned, repaired, and once more made to do service for man and beast.

No account of the organization of the water supply of this sacred land would be complete without a reference to the work of enclosing the pits or wells. Near every village may be found a pit, where water was caught and stored for use in the dry season. These were a real danger, as men and beasts often fell into them, sometimes with fatal results.

We read in Chronicles how Benaiah "slew a lion in the midst of a pit on a snowy day," and in the New Testament how Christ asked: "Which of you shall have an ass, or an ox, fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath



(Photo American Colony, Jerusalem)

MODERN BRITISH MACHINERY PUMPING WATER FOR THE CITY OF JERUSALEM
FROM THE RESERVOIR BUILT NEARLY 2,000 YEARS AGO BY PONTIUS PILATE



(Photo American Colony, Jerusalem)

WHERE THE TURKS SURRENDERED JERUSALEM TO THE BRITISH, THE NATIVES
NOW GO FOR UNLIMITED SUPPLIES OF PURE DRINKING WATER

day?" A few years ago an English medical man fell into an ancient cistern near Dothan, the mouth of which was concealed by snow. He was not hurt by the fall but the inside of the pit was as smooth as glass and it was impossible to climb out. Notwithstanding his cries for help, he was not discovered and rescued until he had spent two days and a night in the pit.

These water holes, unless on private property, are now protected and enclosed. At first the natives objected, declaring that

the pits had always been left open. With great diplomacy Colonel Storrs, the Military Governor, explained that it was no new command, and quoted Exodus xxi., 33-34, as proof: "And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man dig a pit and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein, the owner of the pit shall make it good." The reasonableness of the order was admitted. All pits are now protected, and what was always a danger to both man and beast has been removed.

FIGHTING THE TURKS AT AINTAB

BY DR. LORIN SHEPARD

Story of the seventy days' siege of Aintab, as told by an American eyewitness—How the Armenians organized a strong defense that helped the French at last to defeat the Turkish Nationalists and prevent another wholesale massacre

THE Turkish Nationalist movement, in its spirit, aims and personnel, is a direct heir of the Union and Progress Party, and has as its motto: "Turkey for the Turks alone." After the campaigns in Palestine by the British and Arabs, Turkey's military power was practically destroyed, and the Turks were ready to accept whatever terms the Allies might impose. The Peace Conference, however, occupied with weightier matters, kept putting off the Turkish settlement, and the old Union and Progress ring saw its opportunity to profit by the differences among the great powers. The Nationalist movement was organized for the avowed purpose of proving to Europe that Turkey was very much alive, and would not allow herself to be dismembered as a punishment for joining the Germans and for attempting annihilation of the Armenian race.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his satellites took it upon themselves to organize the necessary forces to bring about this result. The method of the organization was simple. Turkey is essentially a land of small villages, most of them owned by rich Beys. The plan was to arm all the men in all the villages, and instruct them to be ready at any time to respond to the call of some local leader, generally the son of one of the

Beys, or some famous outlaw or cutthroat of the region. In all places under foreign military occupation, such as Aintab, these preparations were carried out with the utmost secrecy. The arguments used to persuade the ignorant villagers to join such an organization were the old ones—the foreigner must be driven out, the Christian and Armenian exterminated—there would be abundant loot. The appeal to religious fanaticism was strengthened by wild tales of the evil intent of the occupying powers.

In personal conversations with Turkish villagers I learned that they had been told by Nationalist agents and firmly believed that the French had come with the sole purpose of ruining the country, killing the men, dishonoring the women, and that the cause of their coming was the Armenian, who always aimed to destroy the Turk. Thus, although the Nationalist program, as loudly proclaimed by Kemal at Angora, offered full protection and rights of citizenship to all races, the Nationalist movement, as organized in actual fact, menaced the very existence of the few Christians who had managed to escape the machinations of the Union and Progress gang during the war.

Early in the year 1920 the Nationalists apparently thought the time was ripe to

strike and show their power. The isolated position of some of the French garrisons in Cilicia and North Syria, combined with the inclemency of the Winter weather, was a factor in their favor. In January small groups of French troops going from Aintab to Marash—the next post to the north—were ambushed and killed. Fighting between Turks and French began in Marash on Jan. 19, and during the three weeks that elapsed before the French withdrawal two-fifths of the city was destroyed and 10,000 Armenians were butchered by the Turks. In Aintab the Turks tried to make the Armenians believe that nothing of the kind was intended, but indications to the contrary were not lacking, and a general movement of segregation began, the Armenians leaving the Turkish quarter and the Turks withdrawing to their part of town.

The actual state of affairs was clearly revealed to the Americans in Aintab by the murder of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries, Messrs. Perry and Johnson. These devoted workers were killed by Nationalists as they were coming by automobile from Killis to Aintab on Feb. 1. Strong representations were made to the Turkish authorities at Aintab, and the bodies were brought by them to Aintab, where we identified them. In order to explain away the murder, the Aintab officials sent out an investigating committee, which turned in a report, probably false, stating that the killing had been done by ordinary robbers, who in turn had been killed by Nationalists. I myself heard the statements in this report contradicted by two Nationalist chiefs, both of whom said the killing of the Americans was a "mistake." From the testimony of American wagon drivers, who overheard Turks talking in an inn on the road near the scene of the murders, we know that orders were sent out from Aintab, the day before, to kill all Christians traveling on that road and deliver their goods at the police station on the road.

HOW THE ARMENIANS FOUGHT

These and many similar events were sufficient incentive to the Armenians to prepare their defense, which proved to be one of the most interesting phases of the fighting at Aintab. A number of the Armenian

young men had had valuable experience. One had been a Lieutenant in the American Engineers, another in the English army in Palestine, and still another in Mesopotamia. Several others had been under-officers in the Turkish army. These men banded together and gathered around them all who had arms and were willing to fight. Plans were drawn for barricading the streets, and loopholes were secretly prepared in houses commanding the principal streets entering the Armenian quarter. Meanwhile the Turks, as we learned later from the testimony of one of them, were planning to catch the Christians unawares, to slaughter them wholesale, as had been done at Marash, to attack the French garrison, and to attempt to drive them out. Men had been designated to watch at the principal street corners, and when the signal was given, to kill all Christians returning from the Turkish quarter, where the markets are located. The Government also did all it could to prevent the segregation of the Christians and to promote a false sense of confidence among them.

The storm that had been brewing so long burst on the first day of April, 1920. A strong French column had fought its way to Aintab during the last week in March, and for a day or two the Turks thought their time had come; but, owing to the necessity for troops in other places, the column departed on April 1, leaving only a small garrison. Hardly had the column disappeared around the first turn in the road when shots were heard in the lower market, and in a few minutes our hospital and orphanage were filled with frightened people, fleeing to the Americans for protection. Before long wounded began coming in, and all that day we were in the operating room, trying to patch up, as best we could the wicked work of knives and bullets. As the day wore on, it became evident that the Turks would not be able to enter the Armenian quarter, in the western end of which our American buildings were situated, by the main streets. But south of us they were strongly placed in a high minaret, about a hundred yards away, and from there the orphanage, just south of the hospital, and the hospital itself, sustained a very heavy rifle fire, in spite of the fact that the American flag

was clearly displayed on both buildings. One orphan was killed, another wounded, and two of the matrons were seriously wounded. Several of the Near East Relief workers had narrow escapes going from building to building, as every one who showed his head drew fire.

That night, however, we began to see the effects of the Armenian defense organization. During the darkness protecting walls of stone were built up wherever streets or windows were exposed to fire from the Turks, and so well was the work done that the next day, in spite of the continued rifle fire, not a single person was wounded. Within a short time the organization had grown into a regular city government. Most important among its departments, of course, was the military charged with the actual business of defense. There were very few rifles available, and little ammunition, but these difficulties were partly overcome in the arsenal, a place of intense activity, where the cleverest workmen of the city manufactured effective hand grenades, loaded cartridges, for which the powder and even the primers were made on the spot, repaired rifles, and, crowning achievement of all, put together a cannon named "The Revenge." This piece, when loaded up with plenty of powder, nails, doorknobs and iron balls from the looms, made a terrific racket, intimidating to the Turks, even if not very damaging. There was also a food commission, which took stock of all the food resources and superintended the distribution of rations. It was here that the Near East Relief came to the rescue most effectively. The heads of the three large orphanages and of the Rescue Home, who had in their care nearly 1,500 women and children, had provided supplies of food for six or eight months ahead. This large stock was made available for the use of the population and counted in with the total available supply of food. Later, when the orphans and rescued women were removed to Beirut through the assistance of the French army, the bulk of the food supply was turned over to the Armenians of the town.

In addition to the military and food commissions, there were created a police department, a health department, a housing commission, which had a very heavy prob-

lem on its hands, and even a court with the necessary complement of Judges. The whole organization was under the central committee, which acted as a sort of legislative assembly.

Thus organized, the Armenian defense carried on through 70 days of fighting. After the first few days the Turks became discouraged at their failure to penetrate the Armenian quarter, and tried to inveigle them into a truce in the hope of taking them unawares. When this failed they tried to burn the houses of the defenders, and their fire was skillfully turned against themselves. Finally they tried mining and blowing up the defenders' positions, and for days we were listening to excited tales of mines and counter mines. But through it all, the Armenians sustained few casualties, and did not lose a single position. Even when the Turks brought up artillery and pounded the Armenian houses, as well as the positions of the French, hope was not lost and the general morale was not broken. During this first period of fighting three large French convoys came to Aintab, bringing with them food to the garrison and a certain amount to the civilians, and taking away with them a large number of non-combatants. These included several thousand Armenian refugees, all the orphans cared for by the Americans and by Miss Frearson, an English lady who has had an orphanage in Aintab for many years, and many Aintab people who desired to seek a place of safety for their families. No one, however, was allowed to leave who was considered necessary for the defense.

A TRYING ARMISTICE PERIOD

At the end of May an armistice was arranged between the French and Mustapha Kemal's force, and hostilities at Aintab ceased for a time. By the terms of this agreement the French troops were withdrawn from the town proper, where a few small posts were placed, and were confined to the college buildings, half a mile to the west of the city. The Armenians were told that they were Turkish subjects, and that they must get along as best they could with the Turks whom they had been fighting for nearly two months. The French, however, promised to remain near the city, and to prevent a massacre of the Christians.

The Turks also had seen that the Armenians were determined to defend themselves, and had gained a wholesome respect for their ability to do it. Thus, for some time, the Turks, although taking pains to assert that they—not the Armenians—were in authority, were careful not to antagonize or frighten the Armenian element. It was a difficult period for the Christians of Aintab. They could not trust their recent enemies, the Turks, and they could not be sure the French would remain.

It would have been well for the Turks had they been content to wait quietly for the final adjustment of the peace terms, instead of beginning again to fight the French. But the individual interests of the so-called Nationalists demanded that disturbance continue. On July 28, therefore, they renewed hostilities. This time, however, they did not make the mistake of attacking the Armenians, but confined their attentions to the French. After a severe bombardment, they tried an infantry attack, which was repulsed with heavy losses. The French in turn bombarded the Turkish positions, one of the most important of which was in the Municipal Hospital, just west of our American buildings. The Armenians maintained an armed neutrality and waited. In spite of many opportunities to shoot Turkish soldiers, who were continually passing back and forth in front of their positions, the embattled Armenians never yielded to the desire for revenge.

LAST WEEKS OF SIEGE

This phase of the fighting was brought to an end by the arrival of a strong French column from the south on Aug. 11, and from this time till the Turks' surrender of the city in February, the French were masters of the military situation. The task of reducing the city, however, was not to be an easy one. Immediately on the arrival of the column, the town was completely surrounded, and an immediate surrender demanded. This was refused, and later we learned that although the people of the city were eager to give in and put a stop to the fighting, the Nationalist officers compelled them by force to pursue a policy of resistance. Unfortunately, it was impossible for the French at this time to assign enough men both to maintain the blockade of the town and to convoy the necessary supplies

of food and munitions, so that after a few days it became necessary to withdraw the northern part of the besieging ring. This enabled the Turks to bring in at night large supplies of food and ammunition.

The final phase of the investment of Aintab began on Nov. 20, when the arrival of large reinforcements made it possible to surround the city again. The siege continued nearly three months longer. During this period, the Turks made every effort to drive away the besiegers. They frequently outnumbered the French and brought up a considerable number of cannon, including fifteen centimeter pieces capable of great execution. Their bombardments, nevertheless, though very annoying at times, were never of great military importance. Their infantry attacks, moreover, were never formidable, and invariably broke down before accomplishing the desired result. The sole exception to this was in the month of May, when an isolated position held by Algerian troops was taken by storm after the French lieutenants in charge had been fatally wounded. Finally on Feb. 8, 1921, lack of food compelled the Turks to surrender the city.

The Turkish Nationalists undoubtedly brought to the defense of Aintab all the energy and organization they were capable of, and although their efforts failed, they attained the real object of the movement, namely, to create in Europe the impression that the Turks possessed great military resources and tremendous determination. This impression they are now using to good advantage in the attempt to secure more favorable terms of peace.

The Near East Relief played a most creditable rôle in Aintab throughout these troubled times. One of the greatest factors in its service was the moral support furnished the Armenians in their valiant self-defense. Besides this, food in large quantities was furnished the destitute; over \$30,000 of Near East Relief funds were used for this purpose alone. At the hospital, wounded of all classes received treatment. The sincerest expressions of appreciation for these Near East Relief activities have been received by the organization both from the civilian Armenian population and from the occupying French forces.

THE COLORED FRENCH TROOPS IN GERMANY

BY J. ELLIS BARKER

A British publicist's frank discussion of the alleged attacks of African soldiers on German women in the occupied Rhineland areas—Testimony of Maximilian Harden and of General Allen—Source of the widespread propaganda on the subject

LAST year, at a time when Germany was being pressed for the payment of reparations, and when the surrender of arms was demanded from her, a great sensation was caused by her passionate denunciations of the black troops of France, which, we were told, had been guilty of the most horrible outrages, especially upon helpless white women. More recently the same charge was loudly repeated when Germany was trying to evade the present indemnity arrangement. Both in 1920 and in 1921 complaints about the bestiality of the French negro soldiers were made at a time when Germany hoped and asked for America's support against the claims of the Allies. The coincidence is very remarkable, and it is equally remarkable that during the first year and a half following the armistice no complaints were made about the misdeeds of the black soldiery.

It is often stated still that France, filled with implacable hatred, has deliberately quartered black troops on Germany in order to humiliate and wound the people. Are these accusations justified or not?

I happened to be in Germany in the early Summer of 1920, at the time when the outcry was at its loudest, and I spent nearly three weeks in the zone occupied by France. I did not see any evidence that France wished to humiliate the people. Such a policy would have been not only ungenerous but extremely unwise. France, as is well known, would like to obtain the German territories west of the Rhine, which are now occupied by French troops. As she did not receive these territories at the Peace Conference, as she had hoped, the French must give up their old ideal of making the Rhine their eastern frontier, an ideal which has inspired them for centuries,

unless they succeed in gaining the goodwill and the affection of the people on the Rhine. Far from wishing to outrage the inhabitants, the French are trying to reconcile them, to win them over and to bind the Rhenish Province to France with bonds of esteem and affection. The French are doing everything in their power toward that end. Both the civil and the military authorities are most careful and circumspect. Far from quartering their worst troops upon the Germans, they have sent to the Rhine their élite. Everywhere one meets only picked men and picked officers. I did not see in Germany any of those small, slouching and somewhat untidy soldiers whom one sees so often in France, and especially in Paris. The officers also seem to be high above the average.

As a matter of fact, both the French officers and the French soldiers made a far better impression, not only upon me, but also upon many of the inhabitants with whom I discussed the matter, than the German officers and soldiers whom they have replaced. The daily parades were witnessed by crowds of admiring Germans. In the hotels and restaurants, in the shops and in private families the French have become extremely popular, to the chagrin of the irreconcilable Germans of the Prussian type, and engagements and marriages between French soldiers and German girls have become very frequent. The Rhenish towns are beginning to look like a part of France. Everywhere one sees the bright French uniforms, and everywhere one hears French spoken. Many Germans, especially the girls, speak French in public, wear French clothes and pretend to be French. French banks, hotels and shops are springing up everywhere, and French books and

newspapers are bought in large quantities by the Germans.

As I had read some of the accusations made against the French soldiers in general and against the colored soldiers in particular, I kept my eyes open in order to discover evidences of French immorality. However, I found the attitude of the French troops irreproachable, and, notwithstanding all my inquiries, I did not receive a single complaint, but was told everywhere that the most rigorous discipline was enforced and that, as regards their attitude toward women, the French troops, including the colored contingent, compared favorably with the German troops. On the other hand, I received numerous complaints from Germans, and especially from elderly ladies, about the attitude of the German women and girls. I was told that not only girls of the lower classes, but even ladies belonging to the upper and middle class, both married and single, were shamelessly running after the French soldiers, and that the colored men seemed to have a particular attraction for them. All the restaurants and the benches in the parks were crowded with French soldiers and German women, to the intense indignation of the patriotic Germans, many of whom refused in disgust to enter a public park or a restaurant. In many cases I saw German girls, whose dress and fluent French indicated that they belonged to the better classes, make love to colored soldiers, and their advances bordered only too frequently upon the indecent.

Although Germans habitually denounce the immorality of the French, they have not much reason to boast of their own morality. Previous to the war Berlin was universally considered to be far more given over to vice than Paris. The morality of nations can be measured to some extent by the statistics relating to illegitimate births. In 1913, 183,976 illegitimate children were born in Germany. Of all the children 9.7 per cent. were born out of wedlock. Of late years the percentage of illegitimate births in Germany has been increasing steadily and rapidly, as follows:

Year	Per Cent.	Year	Per Cent.
1903.....	8.3	1911.....	9.2
1905.....	8.5	1913.....	9.7
1907.....	8.7	1915.....	11.2
1909.....	9.0		

The figures given show that of late years immorality has been rapidly increasing in Germany. The expansion of the illegitimate birth rate has taken place during a period of unexampled prosperity and during a time when the prevention of undesired births had become so widespread in Germany as to be generally discussed; proposals were made to stop the growing practice in the interests of the army, for it threatened to dry up the supply of recruits. Immorality and illegitimacy are particularly widespread in the great German towns and in the industrial districts. In 1913 23.6 per cent. of all the births in Berlin were illegitimate. During the same year the illegitimate birth rate of the Kingdom of Saxony stood at 16.3 per cent., in Bavaria the rate was 13.5 per cent., in Mecklenburg it stood at 14.9 per cent., in Hamburg at 14.6 per cent. One-fourth of all the children born in Berlin were illegitimate, and one-sixth of all the children born in Saxony. Looseness of morals prevailed in Germany previous to the war. During the struggle and during the years following it, immorality has fearfully increased in Germany and in other countries as well, for war destroys the bonds of discipline and continence. All over Germany I heard harrowing tales of immorality. However, while some Germans bewailed the looseness of present-day morals, others frankly approved of it, taking the view that Germany's loss in man power should be replaced as quickly as possible, and that it was a matter of indifference whether the coming generation was legitimately or illegitimately born.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN'S VIEW

My impression that the French troops, both white and colored, were kept in strict order, and that the German women were chiefly to blame for their intimate relations with French colored soldiers, has been confirmed by reliable German and French evidence. The foremost German journalist is probably Maximilian Harden. He wrote in June, 1920, at the time when the outcry about outrages of the blacks on German women was particularly loud, in his journal, *Die Zukunft*, endeavoring to be strictly fair to France:

Clemenceau, Foch and Millerand have sent colored soldiers to Germany, not in order to humiliate Germany, but for other reasons.

France requires the arms of her sons for her agriculture and industry. If the French had sent 50,000 soldiers of their own to the Rhine the French Government would have been reproached for weakening the industry of the country by withdrawing from it 50,000 men and strengthening accordingly the industrial power of her enemy. Besides, it has been stated that certain regiments had threatened to revolt, should they be sent to Germany. For these reasons France has sent us negroes and soldiers from Morocco who during the war have preserved discipline in a remarkable manner. Besides, one must not mistake Moors and other north African tribes for negroes. The African negro type which one finds constantly displayed in the bitter cartoons of the German comic papers does not resemble in the slightest the type of the French Colonial soldiers. * * *

Unfortunately we have seen the aberrations of the female sex every time when Hagenbeck [the German Barnum] has shown us tribes of natives. Everywhere the German women followed the black and yellow men and pestered them with love letters, flowers and presents. They were not repelled by their smell. On the contrary, they found in it a special stimulus, a special attraction. However, these natives were birds of passage. They were only too often ill-nourished and sickly. They were rarely men of fine physique. They compare unfavorably with the warriors whose jet black skin covers splendid muscles and who are clad in striking uniforms. * * *

The French press has told us that society ladies have often shown a remarkable interest in the African soldiers. Every time when relations between German women and colored soldiers have had natural consequences which could not be explained away, the guilty woman has asserted that she was violated, that her misfortune was undeserved. However, it is well known that such violation is not as easy as some would believe.

Mr. Harden rightly draws attention to the fact that France sent to Germany colored soldiers rather from necessity than from choice. He is also correct in asking his readers to discriminate between African negroes and the brown soldiers belonging to the French Colonial Army. At the time when I was in Germany I saw a considerable number of brown soldiers but only a few blacks.

At present there are no negro troops on the Rhine. The last black regiments of France left the Rhenish province in the Spring of last year. These troops came from the Senegal and from the Soudan. The few negroes whom I saw were servants and invalids who took the waters, &c. The

colored troops of France quartered in Germany are mostly so lightly colored that one can easily mistake them for Southern Frenchmen. The great majority are Arabs --Semites. They do not possess the characteristic thick lips and skull of the negro, but have a refined oval face, an aquiline nose, thin lips, and lack the woolly hair of the negro. Although these troops are well behaved, the French have greatly reduced their number in order not to wound German feelings. From May 1, 1919, to March 1, 1920, France had 35,000 colored troops in Germany. Their number was reduced in March, 1920, to 25,000, and on Jan. 30, 1921, to 20,000.

GERMAN WOMEN AT FAULT

Mr. Harden has stated that German women were chiefly responsible for the mingling of colored and white blood which has taken place on the Rhine. His accusation is justified. I was told that both the German police and the French authorities in the occupied districts found it very difficult to prevent the German women from pestering and pursuing the colored troops. In many cases the colored soldiers themselves complained to their officers about the shameless advances made to them by German women and frequently a military guard had to be called out to keep women from entering the barracks by the windows. General Henry T. Allen, commander of the American forces on the Rhine, stated in a report sent to the Secretary of State:

The attitude of certain classes of German women has been such as to incite trouble. On account of the very unsettled economic conditions, and for other causes growing out of the World War, prostitution is abnormally engaged in, and many German women of loose character have openly made advances to the colored soldiers, as evidenced by numerous love letters and photographs which are now on file in the official records and which have been sent by German women to colored French soldiers. Several cases have occurred of marriages of German women with French negro soldiers. One German girl of a first-class burgher family, her father a very high city functionary of a prominent city in the Rhineland, recently procured a passport to join her fiancé in Marseilles. He was a negro sergeant. Other negro soldiers have had French wives here, and the color line is not regarded either by the French or the Germans, as we regard it in America, to keep the white race pure.

At Ludwingshafen, when the seventh Tirailleurs left for Frankfurt, patrols had

to be sent out to drive away the German women from the barracks, where they were kissing the colored troops through the window gratings.

Ever since the time when I went to Germany I have received reports from the occupied zone, and I have heard nothing but praise for the French troops, both white and colored, from German inhabitants who can be relied upon. On the other hand, complaints about the immorality of the German women have been at least as great as they were a year ago, when I visited the country. Of course there have been individual crimes among the soldiers, and among these there have been crimes against morality, such as the violation of women. While nothing can excuse them, it must be stated that these crimes have only been few in numbers, and they were probably less numerous than they would have been if the country had been occupied by German troops. Crimes of immorality are unhappily exceedingly frequent in Germany. That may be seen from the criminal statistics of the country, and the German army has always been notorious for its assaults upon women. Previous to the war the country people dreaded the manoeuvres of the German army because cases of rape were exceedingly frequent, although the authorities tried their best to hush up the scandal. Many people sent their girls away when they heard that the soldiers were coming into their district.

Notwithstanding the enforcement of strict discipline the French and other troops quartered in Germany have committed a number of crimes. Desiring to make themselves popular by enforcing justice, the French have inflicted severe punishment upon all soldiers guilty of transgressing against the civil population. I have received the following official statement regarding the criminality of the French colored troops, which shows that crimes among colored soldiers were comparatively few:

Accusations brought for violation of women, crimes of violence, participation in broils, theft, etc.....	227
Number of cases in which accusations were found justified	72
Number of accusations, the justification of which was doubtful.....	96
Number of unjustified accusations.....	59
Total	227

It is noteworthy that among the seventy-two accusations which were found justified there were only nine for the violation of women. The number of French colored troops stationed in Germany was as follows:

Dec. 1, 1918, to May 1, 1919.....	10,000
May 1, 1919, to March 1, 1920.....	35,000
March 1, 1920, to June 1, 1920.....	25,000
June 1, 1920, to Jan. 30, 1921.....	20,000

If we multiply the number of French troops with the number of days they were in Germany we arrive at the figure 19,050,000. As shown in the official figures, only seventy-two accusations of colored troops were found to be justified, and of these only nine were in respect of violation of women. In accordance with the policy pursued by France, those found guilty were severely punished. At the same time it must be remembered that among the accusations of transgressions against the civil population, which numbered seventy-two, a considerable number were trivial and led only to the infliction of trivial punishments. According to the official statistics which I have received from the highest quarters, the following punishments were inflicted:

Punishments Imposed.	Colored Soldiers.
Penal servitude for life.....	1
More than 5 years' imprisonment.....	5
Less than 5 years' imprisonment.....	23
Disciplinary punishments	23
Trials pending or adjourned.....	20
Total	72

Of the nine men who were found guilty of violating women, five were condemned to more than five years' imprisonment and four to less than five years' imprisonment.

MANY FALSE CHARGES

Numerous idle and reckless accusations were brought against the French troops, partly by women who, owing to their own fault, had colored babies; partly by hysterical women or by women who wished to revenge themselves or to make mischief. Among the cases of alleged rape which had to be investigated by the French military authorities was that of an inmate of a brothel. In many cases the Germans have paraded cases, and even addressed complaints to the French authorities, without giving the names of the women who were

supposed to have been assaulted by French colored soldiers, without stating where the alleged assaults took place, without naming any witnesses, and without giving a description of the soldiers or of their uniforms, and inquiries for details on the part of the French authorities have remained unanswered.

An entire Senegalese brigade of French negroes was stationed for some considerable time at Worms and Mayence. They left Germany in June, 1920, and since that time no negro troops have been in Germany. During the whole time of their stay only a single complaint on account of crimes of violence was received, which, however, led to an acquittal. General Henry T. Allen, in his report to the Secretary of State on July 2, 1920, said:

A very violent newspaper campaign attacking the French Colonial troops, especially the negro troops, broke out simultaneously throughout Germany coincident with the time of the French evacuation of Frankfurt and Darmstadt, and has continued up to the present time. It is unquestionably a fact that many gross exaggerations were circulated in the German press concerning the conduct of the French Colonial troops. The allegations in the German press have been for the most part so indefinite as to time and place and circumstance as to leave it impracticable to verify the alleged facts or to disprove them.

After all proper allowance is made for the natural difficulties, which always are to be expected in tracing crimes of this nature, due to the shame and distress of the victims, the great mass of the articles in the German press, by the simultaneous appearance all over Germany, and by the failure to cite time, place and circumstance sufficiently in detail to enable the truth to be ascertained, give to an impartial observer the impression of an adroit political move which would tend to sow antipathy to France in the other lands of the allied and associated powers, especially in America, where the negro question is always capable of arousing feeling. * * *

The wholesale atrocities by French negro Colonial troops alleged in the German press, such as the alleged abductions, followed by rape, mutilations, murder and concealment of the bodies of the victims, are false and intended for political propaganda.

A number of cases of the sort charged have occurred on the part of French negro Colonial troops in the Rhinelands. These cases have been occasional and in restricted numbers, not general or widespread. The French military authorities have repressed them severely in most cases and have made a very serious effort to stamp the evil out.

The crimes, and especially the sexual crimes, of which the French colored troops were accused, were largely manufactured by the Germans in Berlin. The French discovered documents which make that point absolutely clear. The Berlin authorities no doubt hoped to cause trouble among the Allies and to divide them against one another, and their particular aim was to arouse the United States against the European powers by making use of the negro question. However, it must be doubted whether the idea came from the Germans themselves. Very possibly such a campaign was suggested to them by a non-German.

SOURCE OF THE PROPAGANDA

At the time when the outcry against the atrocities committed by the colored troops of France began, the world was startled by a pamphlet, "The Horror on the Rhine," by E. D. Morel, and a number of articles written by the same man, which appeared in the English and American press. Mr. Morel, who is habitually described by the German newspapers as a "patriotic and large-hearted Englishman," was born in France and is the son of a French father. He is a man of mystery, who, while claiming to be an idealist, has for many years pursued a policy which has been exceedingly harmful to the Anglo-Saxon powers and to France, and exceedingly useful to Germany. He is an effective writer and has specialized for many years on the negro question. Between 1902 and 1914 he has written an enormous number of books, pamphlets and newspaper articles on the atrocities committed in the Belgian Congo State, which separated German East Africa from the great Portuguese colony of Angola, in West Africa, adjoining German Southwest Africa.

For many years it had been Germany's aim to join her East and West African colonies, either by acquiring Rhodesia and Angola, or by obtaining the southern part of the Congo State, creating thus a connected African Empire stretching from one ocean to the other. Mr. Morel started a violent and continued agitation against the atrocities perpetrated by the Belgians on the Congo natives, an agitation which, however, was limited to England and to America. Not unnaturally the Belgians became alarmed, and, in view of the threats made

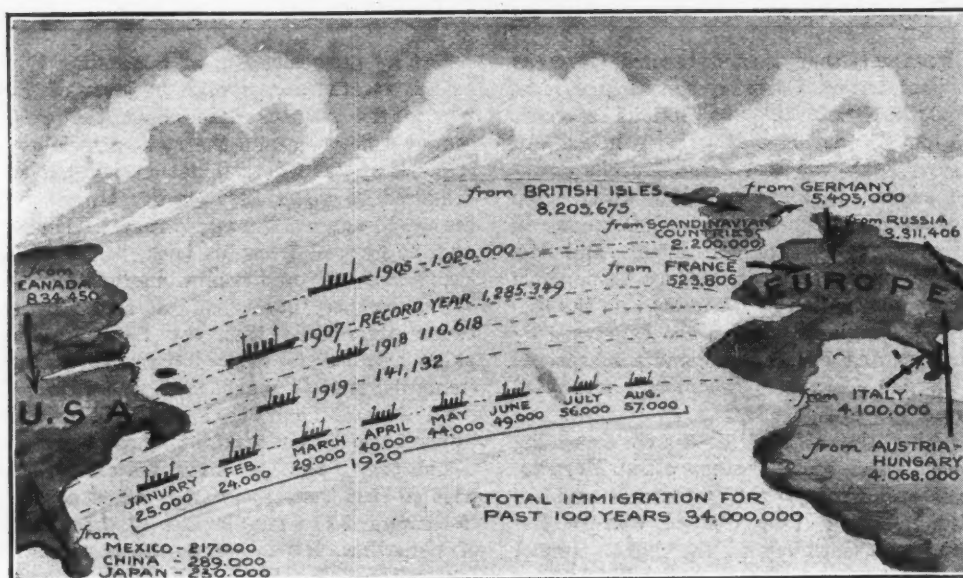
in England, they turned toward Germany for protection. Germany not only coveted the Congo State, but was anxious to secure Belgium's benevolent neutrality in case of a great European war. Mr. Morel's agitation caused Belgium to draw away from England and to incline toward Germany to the great benefit of the latter, and Mr. Morel's propaganda is largely responsible for the admiration of Germany and the distrust of England which were expressed by many leading Belgian diplomats in reports which the German Government published during the war.

During the difficulties which arose between France and Germany about Morocco, Mr. Morel wrote books, pamphlets and articles to prove that France was in the wrong and Germany in the right. Immediately after the outbreak of the World War he preached the necessity of concluding a peace by agreement without humiliating or weakening Germany. He stated unceasingly, making use of the British Socialist press, that the Allies were at least as guilty as Germany, that secret diplomacy had brought the war about, &c. Having in the past created various organizations which were likely to damage England and France, he created, or took part in creating, the Union of Democratic Control, which did the utmost mischief to the Allies during the war. However, he was careful to keep as much as possible in the background with a view to escaping legal punishment. During the war the British Government was exceedingly tolerant to cranks and others engaged in anti-national and treasonable agitation. Still, it had occasion to proceed against Mr. Morel for violating the war regulations, and he was condemned by the courts to six months' imprisonment.

Since the end of the war Mr. Morel has been busy proving that the Allies were at least as guilty as Germany, that the responsibility for the war falls principally upon the Allies; he has thus tried to undermine the Peace of Versailles, which is based upon Germany's war guilt. Besides, im-

pelled by pure idealism of a peculiar type, he has started a campaign in favor of giving to the negroes throughout the world complete freedom and the right of self-government and self-determination, and has endeavored to raise the negroes throughout the world against the white race. His aims may be gauged from his book, "The Black Man's Burden," and from numerous articles of his recently published. It seems by no means impossible that the German campaign against the colored troops of France emanated not so much from the Germans themselves as from Mr. Morel. He has certainly proved very useful to those Germans—and they form the large majority—who wish to free themselves from allied control, to disregard the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, and to escape the payment of reparations. The name of Morel is on every man's lips in Germany. In every bookshop there are stacks of his books and pamphlets "proving" the innocence of Germany and the wickedness of the Allies, and giving the most horrible details regarding the bestial crimes of the colored soldiers of France.

At first Germany's protests and complaints concerned only the negro soldiers. When the negro troops had been withdrawn, the same protests and complaints were made against non-negro troops—principally the light-colored Arabs from North Africa, who look like Southern Frenchmen. In addition there are in Germany a few thousand natives from Madagascar, whom the French call *Malgaches*, who are not negroes but Malays, and who have some resemblance to the Japanese. The propaganda against "The Horror on the Rhine" is purely artificial. Germany does everything in her power to nullify the Treaty of Peace, to hamper and exasperate France, to make Germany's occupation impossible, and if tomorrow all non-European troops were withdrawn the Germans would complain as loudly about atrocities perpetrated by white French troops in order to sow dissension between France and her Allies.



GRAPHIC CHART SHOWING EBB AND FLOW OF THE TIDE OF IMMIGRATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS

IMPORTANT FACTS REGARDING RECENT IMMIGRATION

BY DANIEL CHAUNCEY BREWER

Under the new immigration law, which went into effect on June 3, 1921, only 77,206 immigrants will be allowed to enter the United States in the next year. The law limits the number to 3 per cent. of the total of each foreign nationality in the United States in 1910. From the day it went into force, the immigration authorities at American ports have been confronted with the problem of what to do with the thousands who arrive in excess of the quota allowed to each country. The necessity of deporting these disappointed pilgrims has raised anew the whole question of what is the wisest course to follow regarding immigration. Mr. Brewer's article is a constructive contribution to that subject.

ALTHOUGH the new Administration has defined its immigration policy for the coming year, the major problems in this connection remain for the people to solve. To do this intelligently, they must have the facts. What have been the constituent elements of the nation in the past? What are they today, and how rapidly do they change? These are vital questions, the correct understanding and answering of which will lead to wise conclusions, give a basis for action and visualize for the inquirer the American people of 1931.

Up to the year 1820 or thereabouts, when the Government at Washington began to keep data regarding newcomers, the Republic was homogeneous. Certain of the original Thirteen Colonies had been settled by individuals from the Continent of Europe. Various races sprinkled along the Atlantic

seaboard had a part in the winning of independence, but the young nation as a whole, although it had broken loose from English suzerainty, spoke English and was more familiar with English customs and political standards than with those of other countries.

In the year 1850, or less than three-quarters of a century ago, in spite of a large Irish and German immigration, the conditions remained unchanged. The foreign-born were far outnumbered by the negroes of the South, and, if they did not speak English, were more or less familiar with American institutions. They were therefore readily assimilated.

The resurgence of business activity and enterprise that came with the years immediately succeeding the Civil War wrought no great alteration, although immigration

commenced to make its mark in industrial sections, and New York City took on a cosmopolitan complexion. The great West was offering homes, and people came to the United States to settle and throw in their lot with the young democracy. Statistics of these years show as many native persons of foreign parentage as foreign-born, but the larger part of this population was markedly American because of a fortunate environment.

In 1880, therefore, we were still homogeneous. That was only forty-odd years ago. Outside of the German stock, which had borne its part in the Civil War, only a few immigrants had reached the United States from the Continent of Europe. Naturalization went on rapidly and safely, because of an expressed love for democratic institutions.

The year 1880 marked an era in the history of the United States, and sharply defined the line between an immigration made up almost wholly of persons who came to stay and an influx of hosts of men responding to the calls of the great industries. Some of the latter class also expected to remain, but a large portion of them were and still are "job-seekers."

For more than thirty years, viz., from 1880 to 1914, this tide continued to sweep through our ports, appearing sometimes to be at its turn, because of the thousands going back to the land of their birth, and then swelling as these uncertain ones were drawn again by the magnet-call of the West. This ever-surging tide long since made us a heterogeneous people; and there are those who think that it may be causing other reactions, which are not to be discussed here.

The beginnings of the great change in the nation were, as has been stated, in or about the year 1880. At that time British and German immigration commenced to fall off; Scandinavian immigration, which followed the close of the Civil War, reached its height, and peoples in Eastern and Southern Europe, followed by recruits from Asia and Northern Africa, set their faces toward the New World.

The new currents seemed to be feeling their way at first. Italy, which up to

1877 had not contributed more than three or four thousand in any previous year, sent over 12,000 in 1880, and 30,000 in 1882. This was the vanguard of a racial group which in 1900 was shipping 100,000 a year.

Thirteen individuals entered the country in 1861 from Austria-Hungary. They were the first recorded visitors from the populous provinces of the Dual Empire. Each year thereafter brought consignments ranging from a few hundreds to a few thousands, until 1881, when nearly 28,000 Austro-Hungarians pioneered the real movement from that country to the United States. The year 1900 brought 114,000, and in 1904 over 200,000 Austro-Hungarians entered the United States.

Russian immigration moved along similar lines to that from Austria-Hungary. In 1880, some 7,191 subjects of the Czar were reported as entering our ports. That was the largest number coming in any one season up to that date. The year 1900 brought 90,787 Russians; in 1906, the Slavic influx leaped to 258,943. Analysis of the returns from Russia, as well as from Austria-Hungary, explains the presence in our industrial sections of great numbers of Jews, Poles, Bohemians and other racial groups.

HIGH MARK IN 1914

The above figures fairly illustrate the rapid increase in the numbers of newcomers from the three great countries referred to. Immigration from each was at its height when the war opened in 1914. In that year, 283,738 Italians, 278,152 Austro-Hungarians and 255,660 Russians entered this country.

Born under autocracies, knowing nothing of self-government, differing essentially in manners and customs, using tongues essentially different from the English, these people have strongly modified our American life by introducing problems for which the nation was totally unprepared.

No sooner had this exodus from European centres gotten well under way than its very momentum commenced to affect other nations and continents, so that, commencing with 1890, it became necessary for our immigration authorities to list outside of general and unassigned immigration the citizens of eight major countries, using languages totally different from each other—namely: China, Japan, Turkey, Greece, Bel-

gium, Portugal, Rumania and Mexico. Some of these nations are now represented in this Republic by more than 300,000 persons each.

The foregoing figures have been collated to illustrate the manner in which the population of the United States shifted from a status of homogeneity to one of heterogeneity. They should be informing, as they indicate the special strains of blood that are now found in our country.

THE EFFECT ON POPULATION

The result of this recent immigration, taken together with the natural increase of the resident foreign white stock, becomes apparent from a glance at the following data:

In 1900 the whole population of the United States, excluding outlying possessions, was 75,994,575. Of this number 25,859,834 are recorded by the twelfth census as foreign stock, that is, foreign-born or of foreign parentage. In 1910 the whole population of the United States, excluding outlying possessions, was 91,972,266. Of this number 32,243,382 are recorded by the thirteenth census as foreign stock. This shows an increase of 24 7-10 per cent. in the so-called foreign population.

Returns for the fourteenth census are as yet unavailable to show the existing relation of the foreign stock to the whole population, but we know that immigration up to 1914 continued to be heavy, and we also know that though the war and subsequent conditions have sharply checked the present flow of humanity from east to west, it is a lack of shipping, not a lack of desire to emigrate, which has kept down the number of arrivals since the Fall of 1918.

It is interesting to note that although few persons are now reaching our ports from territories recently under Russian, German and Austrian control, immigration from Spanish-speaking countries, formerly nil, is becoming a decided factor in recent reports, and Mexicans have been pouring over the Rio Grande. This latter fact, taken in connection with the incoming of Orientals and persons arriving via Canada, must lead us shortly to think of immigration as something more than a tidal wave from Europe. In reality it resembles the inflow that comes over the edge of a bowl which is pressed below the surface of the water.

The fact should not be overlooked that a certain portion of our immigration is transient. Statisticians and publicists who deal with data affecting our population have been too often satisfied to refer to the last official Federal census. This has led these chroniclers, as well as those who rely upon their figures, to draw erroneous conclusions. It probably explains a failure to provide such regulatory laws as would save the nation from a thousand embarrassments. If such inquirers want all the facts, they cannot overlook the returns of the immigration authorities, and especially those which have to do with emigration, or the outgoing of aliens.

The census expert learns something of the number of foreign-born in the country at recurring ten-year periods, but he takes no account of the unregulated armies of aliens who have swarmed into our ports, taken up temporary residence among us (perhaps participating in industrial wars) and drifted out again when it suited their convenience.

Those who care to investigate this matter further will find that the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration classify aliens under the following terms: (1) immigrant and emigrant; (2) non-immigrant and non-emigrant. "Immigrant" and "emigrant" relate to permanent arrivals and departures. "Non-immigrant" and "non-emigrant" relate to temporary arrivals and departures. Non-emigrant aliens were in excess of non-immigrant aliens from 1908 to 1917, but since 1918 there have been more temporary arrivals than temporary departures of aliens. The largest number of non-emigrant aliens in the years last referred to was recorded in 1914, when 330,467 left the country. The largest number of non-immigrant aliens for the same years was in 1913, when 229,335 such persons entered our ports.

In the thirteen years referred to, 1,967,012 aliens were at different times temporarily in the country, and 2,513,490 aliens, domiciled here, were traveling abroad. These facts disclose currents of influence moving through the alien population of the United States and the racial groups overseas. They are worthy of attention.

Let us now turn to the groups which have been characterized as "immigrant"

and "emigrant." Between the years 1908 and 1920 we received 8,312,037 aliens whose allegations indicated that they were coming here to stay, and bade farewell to 2,970,305 aliens who said they would not return. These figures indicate that one-third of all immigrants, who assert that they have come to stay, are never in the way of becoming absorbed, but are permitted to drift about among the partially assimilated racial groups without regulation or supervision.

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRATION

Regarding immigrant distribution: Where have all the peoples gone who have entered our ports in the last fifty years, and how are they absorbed? For convenience, immigrants of the past may be divided into four classes:

1. The north and west of Europe group.
2. Farmers, traders and mechanics belonging to other white groups from Central, Eastern and Southern Europe.
3. Unskilled white labor.
4. Orientals.

The north and west of Europe group includes the English, Scotch and Irish, the Germans, the French-Canadians and the Scandinavians and neighboring peoples. Of these the English-speaking stock is widely distributed, has been readily amalgamated, and both in city and country is an important factor in American life. It is difficult to localize it. The Germans are in New York, Ohio, Wisconsin and Missouri. The French-Canadians are in the industrial centres of New England, and here and there along the border. The Scandinavians are in Minnesota and similar States of the Central Northwest, which are interested in farming and flour milling. While certain of these peoples cling to their own tongues, the whole group, which belongs to the earlier immigration, forms an important element of the fixed population, and gives no occasion for concern.

The second class designated, viz., farmers, traders and mechanics, will be found to come mostly from Central, Eastern and Southern Europe. It is made up of the Jews from Germany, Russia and pre-war Austria-Hungary; Greek and Italian fruit dealers, and small ware merchants of different nations; skilled laborers, whose talents are quickly utilized in the industries,

and who not infrequently make rapid progress; gardeners and farmers, like the Poles, who raise tobacco in the Connecticut Valley, the Portuguese of Cape Cod, and small agriculturists of other nations, who are found along the coast and near the great towns.

Varying in tastes, talents and accomplishments, these people are at one in seeking the cities or metropolitan neighborhoods. This limits them naturally to the New England, the Middle Atlantic and the East North-Central States. Many bring a little money with them into the country; others accumulate money by the thrift and industry required to make any headway in their callings. Such funds as they have or acquire are invested for profit, and, with the habit of independent planning, become an agency in hastening their assimilation. This group, therefore, like the one already treated, is readily absorbed.

UNSKILLED WHITE LABOR

The third division, made up of unskilled white labor, exceeds in number the classes already treated. It is apt to be illiterate and deficient in qualities which fit it to compete with the forces of American life. Although the incoming masses which make up this element appear to drift hither and thither, there is a trend of individuals toward centres which have been colonized by similar stock, and into industries which employ persons speaking the same tongue. As a result of such influences we find:

Italians, Poles, French-Canadians, Lithuanians, Greeks,	in New England, which is a centre for textiles, boots and shoes, machinery and metal working;
Italians, Austrians, Russians,	in New York and New Jersey, which have diversified industries, including silk manufacture, clothing, copper products, foundry work, canning;
Russians, Austro-Hungarians,	in Pennsylvania and Illinois, which States, outside of their manufacturing interests, operate coal mines and make pig iron and steel;
Bohemians, Hungarians, Slavs,	in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and adjacent States, which are engaged in manufacturing, copper mining, automobile building;

Mexicans,
Italians,
Russians,
Austrians,

} in Texas and California.

Although a reasonable percentage of the individuals belonging to this class of unskilled labor develop unsuspected powers, sometimes surprising their friends by the marked manner in which they grasp and utilize American ideas, the very great majority segregate themselves into colonies speaking their own language, and remain an undigested and dangerous element in the democracy. As has been seen, a considerable portion is in this country transiently. The remainder is absorbed slowly, and frequently presents aggregations of thousands of souls who, after ten years of residence, knew little English, and continue to follow customs and habits which are alien to the standards of the Republic.

There remains the fourth class, made up of Orientals. These are for the present segregated in the Pacific States, and, because of color and Asiatic origin, present a special problem, which will not be considered here. They are not among those who are readily assimilated.

CRIMINALITY AMONG IMMIGRANTS

In considering the locus of immigrant groups some attention has been given to the matter of absorption. It is to be regretted that the next question in importance, that which relates to the criminal record of these peoples, can only be superficially handled because of the inability of many thousands of non-English-speaking foreigners, who become the prey of criminals, to make convincing reports. Such facts as are collated by statisticians from police records are therefore incomplete, and cannot be made the basis for final and accurate conclusions in regard to the degree of criminality which should be assigned to different races.

The careful student must therefore await the opening of communications between the non-English-speaking populace and the mass of our people—a thing which is by no means impracticable of accomplishment. In the meantime we have statistics to indicate that the foreign-born and foreign-parentage population make a bad criminal return, compared to that made by native-born of

We know that the Italian people, perhaps because of temperament, show a high percentage of criminality; that the Irish and Russians have an unenviable record; and that the Germans are law-abiding. Professor Commons has made an important contribution to our knowledge by pointing out that the percentage of criminals among native-born persons of foreign parentage is far above that prevailing among the foreign born or persons of all-native stock; and we have the tabulations of Raymond Fosdick's valuable book on "American Police Systems" (recently published) to verify the current impression that the "American crime rate is greatly augmented by the presence of unassimilated or poorly-assimilated races."

What our people need now to consider is, that however bad an exhibit the foreign population makes in police records, it does not begin to reflect the real condition. The average alien lives in an Old World environment, in which he is open to impudent robbery, criminal intrigue, and exploitation. If he escapes these, it is only by good fortune. If he becomes a victim, there is no redress, because he is unacquainted with his rights, and, not knowing the English language, is unable to complain.

DISTRIBUTION BY STATES

It has been the purpose of this article to show the sources of immigration to the United States, the accelerated movement of the ever-increasing tide, and the distribution of the newcomers. The whole matter can hardly be dismissed without calling

State	Area, 1920	Whole Population, 1920	Foreign-born Parentage, 1920
Massachusetts ..	8,039	3,852,356	2,676,131
Rhode Island....	1,067	604,397	435,786
Connecticut	4,820	1,380,631	841,638
New York	47,654	10,384,829	7,182,721
New Jersey	7,514	3,155,900	1,683,762
Pennsylvania ...	44,832	8,720,017	3,864,454
Ohio	40,740	5,759,394	1,839,362
Indiana	36,045	2,930,390	543,925
Illinois	56,043	6,485,280	3,322,423
Michigan	57,480	3,668,412	1,781,633
Wisconsin	55,256	2,632,067	1,638,666
Minnesota	80,858	2,387,125	1,581,362
Iowa	55,586	2,404,021	948,376
	495,934	54,364,819	28,340,239

attention to the fact that the great mass of immigrants is drawn to thirteen States of the Union. This directly interests the inhabitants of these Commonwealths, and, because of their political importance, indirectly affects the whole citizenry of the United States. Figures showing distribution among these thirteen States are given in the table at the foot of the opposite page. They are intended to show areas and populations, as given by the official 1920 census, and the estimated foreign-born and foreign-parentage population. This latter has been secured by collating data from the

Thirteenth Census and Immigration Reports.

A glance at the table shows that the foreign population of thirteen States, which comprise somewhat less than one-sixth of the total area of the United States (excluding Alaska), is more than one-quarter of the whole population of the country. The record also indicates that more than one-half of the population of the aforesaid thirteen States, which are the centres of the nation's industry, is foreign born or of foreign parentage. Here is food for reflection!

CANADA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD IMMIGRATION

BY CHARLES W. STOKES

The Dominion still wants agricultural immigrants, and aids them with loans, but the United States law restricting immigration complicates the whole problem—Signs that the European tide will seek to make Canada a gateway to the United States

WHETHER or not the United States decides to prolong its new curb on immigration for two or three years, or forever, there is no sidestepping one thing—Canada will be very vitally affected. The United States is sometimes apt to think that it is the only nation in North America which participates in the vast annual movement of humanity, or that it alone has immigration problems. Canada, however, in the last ten years has received close to two and a half million immigrants—a small number, of course, compared to the million a year which the United States has received in some years, but a severer test when you remember that these two and a half million have had to be absorbed into a nine-million population. The United States, again, has never officially advertised its attractions in order to get immigrants; Canada has, for several years.

Whatever way the United States moves in regard to immigration, there will be a certain sympathetic reaction in Canada, for both nations have toward European problems an indefinable similarity of principle,

even if not always of conduct. But if the United States bars immigrants Canada must also bar them, for otherwise the human stream will merely be diverted in destination, and will find its way in at Montreal or St. John instead of at New York. The result would be disaster to Canada, in spite of her greater power of absorption, due to the thinner population. It does not want, and could not stand, the strain of adding a million a year to its population, even if they all were—which is impossible—immigrants of the only kind that Canada advertises for, namely, agricultural settlers, who are wanted to develop the vast idle lands of the Northwest.

So far Canada has been very fortunate in her immigrants. They have been drawn almost exclusively from the "Nordic" peoples (to use the up-to-date phraseology of the anti-immigrationist); the somewhat colder climate of Canada has repelled the Southern Europeans. Nearly 900,000 of the ten-year 2,500,000 were, for example, citizens of the United States, and about 800,000 were ex-residents of the British

Isles. The next in order were Slavs—a very long way behind—followed by Germans and Scandinavians. Canada's last census revealed a foreign-born population of less than 11 per cent., as contrasted with the 15 per cent. of the United States.

But Canada keeps her statistics on a different basis from that of the United States. By "foreign born" she means "born outside the British Empire." Thus the Englishman, the Australian, the Maltese, the Hindu, the West Indian negro, is not foreign born, whereas the American, with a lineage going all the way back to New Amsterdam, is. To include British subjects born outside the Dominion of Canada would add another 11 per cent. to Canada's foreign born. This is Canada's peculiar immigration problem.

As a member of the British Empire Canada must always give a sentimental preference to British immigrants, especially those from the British Isles. In those isles the bulk of Canada's immigration expenditure has been made. But for several years it has been becoming daily more manifest that Great Britain can furnish the least quantity of the only class of immigrants which Canada needs—the agriculturists. The war demonstrated more forcibly than ever that Great Britain's agricultural population is so inadequate to produce enough foodstuffs that it would be politically unwise to reduce the number still further.

During and since the war agriculture has prospered in Great Britain, thereby eliminating one inducement to emigrate to a country where farming, though profitable, is still to some extent in the pioneer phase. During and since the war the proverbially underpaid British farm laborer has had his wages raised so much that the urge to emigrate from 10 shillings a week to \$60 a month has left him. Hence Canada's activities have been diverted from Great Britain to the United States, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and, in a less degree, to Russia, where dissatisfied farmers are still to be found.

But Canada cannot prevent non-agricultural immigrants from the British Empire from seeking her shores, notwithstanding that economic conditions in the Dominion are at present almost as unsettled as those of the United States. She can discourage them by pointing to the unemployment and

the closed industries, and she can interpose certain barriers, but she cannot gainsay their right to move freely about within the British Empire. One barrier has been interposed in the form of a requirement that every non-agricultural immigrant landing in Canada must have, in addition to the railway fare to his destination, the sum of \$250; yet the Spring rush is already bringing immigrants in thousands by every boat. The British Government, at the close of the war, inaugurated an Imperial Settlement scheme whereby, under the pretense of taking his discharge in any overseas part of the British Empire, any British ex-service man could have his passage paid thither provided he were acceptable to the overseas country.

Another problem lies in the fact that the day of free land is well-nigh gone. Canadian immigration advertising was built up around the strong selling point that every able-bodied male of 18 years or over could homestead 160 acres of land in the Northwest free, upon agreeing to certain fairly easy settlement conditions. There is still a large block of this land left, but it is too remote from existing railways, and in any case the returned soldier of farming proclivities who desires to enjoy the rather generous assisted settlement scheme which the Canadian Government has projected has the first call on all homestead land. On the other hand, there are huge blocks of non-Government land for sale. In the three prairie provinces of the Northwest there are at least 30,000,000 acres of good, uncultivated land within fifteen miles of existing railways.

Canada needs population very badly. She has only about two and one-half persons to the square mile; the United States has thirty-four. Transcontinental railways have been overbuilt, and increased traffic is necessary to save them from bankruptcy; Canada has 230 persons to every mile of railway, while the United States has 400. But Canada does not want to admit the riff-raff of Southern Europe, to reproduce in her cities the east side of New York; she does not want to admit ex-enemies, or Orientals, or Hindus, or non-agriculturists.

"Unless the settlement of this country is going to be a very slow process," recently said the Hon. J. A. Calder, Canadian

Minister of Immigration, "there is only one real solution. With free land gone, the State must step in and make loans to competent farmers who lack capital."

This experiment has, in fact, been already tried by Canada in the soldier settlement scheme; it has also been tried by some Australasian countries, and by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Up to the end of 1915 New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand and other Australian States had advanced nearly \$200,000,000 in loans to approved settlers without capital. The Canadian Pacific Railway, which is a large landowner in Western Canada, loans \$2,000 in improvements to settlers in its irrigation block in Alberta. But the most successful example is the Canadian Government's own soldier settlement scheme. This was initiated toward the end of the war as a means of palliating the anticipated economic distress by making it easy for the returned soldier to

get back to the land. It is notable because it was so ambitious, and because, out of the mirage of hot air and Utopian and saccharine-like visions that characterized the few months after the armistice, it has emerged as the only practicable and successful enterprise in the world.

By this scheme the Canadian ex-soldier (or practically any allied ex-soldier) who genuinely wants to go farming and has a reasonable chance of success is staked to everything by the Government—land, livestock and improvements—with free training, pay and subsistence allowance while training, all on the strength of a promise to pay everything back within twenty-five years. If he lives in Great Britain he can, while the imperial settlement scheme exists, obtain a free passage. Recent statistics show that 25,550 returned Canadian soldiers have been settled on the land, and that over \$80,000 in loans have been approved.

HOW MALTA RECEIVED HER CONSTITUTION

THE greatest day in the history of the little Mediterranean island of Malta fell on April 30, 1921, when the British Governor, Lord Plumer, in the stately Hall of St. Michael and St. George in Valletta, read to the Maltese Council of State the Letters Patent granting the island self-government. The capital was gaily beflagged to celebrate the event. From an early hour the Palace Square was packed with cheering throngs. At 10 o'clock in the morning Lord Plumer entered the Council Hall with the Archbishop, Admiral de Robeck and Chief Justice Refalo. He read the Colonial Secretary's letter relative to the new Constitution, after which Lieutenant Governor Robertson, in alternation with the Chief Secretary, read the Letters Patent. This reading lasted until after midday. The ceremony was ended by Lord Plumer, who announced that the Letters Patent would come into force on May 16, and that the elections for the Legislature and Senate would be held as soon as possible.

A fanfare of trumpets from the Palace balcony announced the conclusion of the event to the waiting throngs in the square below; the guard gave a Royal salute, and the band played the national anthem. Inside the Palace the great hall was echoing

with wild shouts and plaudits for King George. The main features of the new Constitution are as follows:

Self-government regarding all local affairs, excluding the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, buildings, coinage and currency, naturalization, immigration, submarine cables, territorial waters and harbors. A local Senate and House of Representatives, elected on a basis of proportional representation. The Legislature to have power to alter the Constitution, except in matters of religious toleration and language. English, Italian and Maltese are to be the official languages. A special Imperial Maltese Government is constituted, to deal with all specifically Imperial interests.

The Letters Patent and the covering letter from the Colonial Secretary were accepted by the Council as a charter granting the Maltese all the essential rights and privileges of a free and independent people, while holding them within the framework of the British Empire. Among those who came forth from the Council Hall was a white-haired man, who was pointed out by the whispering populace as the Marquis Mattei. Over twenty years ago this venerable statesman seconded the Maltese patriot Savona's resolution for self-government for Malta; he is the only member of that council who has lived to see his hopes fulfilled.

THE LIVING FLAME OF AMERICANISM

BY FRANKLIN K. LANE*

This inspiring address by the late Franklin K. Lane was delivered at Washington while he was Secretary of the Interior, just after the armistice and at the outset of the Americanization movement. His friends regard it as his greatest speech

WE have made stintless sacrifices during this war; sacrifices of money, and blood sacrifices; sacrifices in our industries; sacrifices of time, and effort, and preferment, and prejudice. Much of that sacrifice shall be found vain if we do not prepare to draw to ourselves those later comers who are at once our opportunity and our responsibility—a responsibility which invokes and fortifies the noblest qualities of national character.

There is in every one of us, however educated and polished, a secret, selfish, arrogant ego, and there is in every one of us also a real nobility. In this war I could see that there came out immediately a finer man—a better self; that better self we must keep alive. We expect that man to seek out his immigrant neighbor and say, "I am your friend. Be mine as well. Let me share in the wisdom, and instruct me in the arts and crafts you have brought from other lands, and I shall help you to succeed here." There is no difficulty in this, if our attitude is right. Americanism is entirely an attitude of mind; it is the way we look at things that makes us Americans.

What is America? There is a physical America and there is a spiritual America. And they are so interwoven that you cannot tell where one ends and the other begins.

Some time ago I met a man who is one of the advisers of the President of China, and he told me of a novel suggestion which he thought might be adopted in that new republic—that they should have a qualifying examination for members of Congress; that every man who announced himself as a candidate should prove that he knew what his country was, who its people were, what resources it had, what its prospects were and what its relations with foreign countries had been.

If I could have my way I would say to the man in New York. "Come with me and

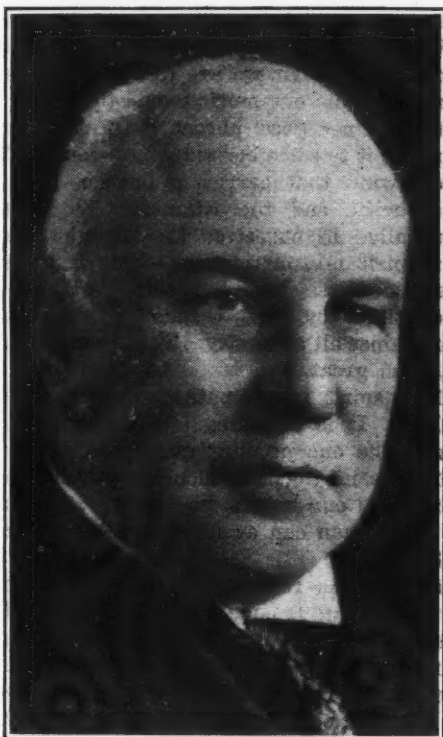
I will show you America," or I would say to the man in San Francisco, "Come with me and I will show you America." I would give to this man whom I wished to Americanize (after he had learned the language of this land) a knowledge of the physical America, not only to gain his admiration for its strength, for its resources, and for what it could do against the world, but to awaken his pride in this as a land of hope, as a land in which men had won out.

I would take this man across the continent. I would show him the 8,000,000 farms which went to feed Europe in her hour of need. I would take him out into Utah, and show him that mountain of copper they are tearing down at the rate of 38,000 tons per day. I would take him to the highest dam in the world, in Idaho, and I would let him see the water come tumbling down and being transformed into power, and that power being used to pump water again that spreads over the fields and makes great gardens out of what, ten years ago, was the driest of deserts.

I would take this man down South and I would show him some of its schools. I would take him up North and I would show him the cut-over lands of Wisconsin and Michigan, which are waste and idle. I would take him into New York and show him the slums and the tenements. I would show him the kind of sanitation that exists

*Franklin K. Lane, former Secretary of the Interior, died after an operation in a hospital at Rochester, Minn., on May 18, 1921. He was born in 1864 on Prince Edward Island, but passed his early life in California, and was graduated from the University of California in 1886. He entered journalism and became editor of the Tacoma Daily News, but later took up law, was admitted to the California bar in 1889, and had become a national figure by 1895, when President Roosevelt appointed him to the Interstate Commerce Commission, a place which he held for eight years. In 1913 President Wilson chose him as Secretary of the Interior, and during his seven years in that position he was regarded with ever increasing esteem by the nation. The high ideals that shaped his character and his utterances were epitomized in his remark, made shortly before death, that he wished to live for the good he could do.

in some of our cities. I would show him the good and the bad. I would show him the struggle that we are making to improve the bad conditions. I would tell him, not that America is perfect, not that America is a finished country, but I would say to him, "America is an unfinished land. Its possibilities will never end, and your chance



(Harris & Ewing)

FRANKLIN K. LANE

here, and the chances of your children, will always be in ratio to your zeal and ambition." I would tell him that we dare believe that America will ever remain unfinished; that no one can say when we shall have reclaimed all our lands, or found all our minerals, or made all our people as happy as they might be. But—I would add—out of our beneficent, political institutions, out of the warmth of our hearts, out of our yearning for higher intellectual accomplishment, there shall be ample space and means for the fulfillment of dreams, for further growth, for constant improvement. That is our ambition.

I would have that man see America from the reindeer ranches of Alaska to the Everglades of Florida. I would make him realize

that we have within our soil every raw product essential to the conduct of any industry. I would take him 3,000 miles from New York (where stands the greatest university in the world) to the second greatest university, where seventy years ago there was nothing but a deer pasture. I would try to show to him the great things that have been accomplished by the United States—250,000 miles of railroad, 240,000 schools and colleges, water powers, mines, furnaces, factories, the industrial life of America, the club life of America, the sports of America, the baseball game in all its glory.

And I would give to that man a knowledge of America that would make him ask the question, "How did this come to be?" And then he would discover that there was something more to our country than its material strength.

It has a history. It has a tradition. I would take that man to Plymouth Rock and I would ask, "What does that rock say to you?" I would take him down on the James River, to its ruined church, and I would ask, "What does that little church say to you?" And I would take him to Valley Forge, and point out the huts in which Washington's men lived, 3,000 of them struggling for the independence of our country. And I would ask, "What do they mean to you? What caused these colonists to suffer as they did—willingly?"

And then I would take him to the field of Gettysburg and lead him to the spot where Lincoln delivered his immortal address, and I would ask him, "What does that speech mean to you? Not how beautiful it is, but what word does it speak to your heart? How much of it do you believe?"

And then I would take him to Santiago de Cuba and I would ask, "What does that bay mean to you?" And I would take him over to the Philippines, where 10,000 native teachers every day teach 600,000 native children the English language, and I would bring him back from the Philippines to the Hawaiian Islands.

In Honolulu during the war a procession of school children passed before me and presented me with the flags of their countries. Every race was represented, from New Zealand clear along the whole western side of the Pacific. They laid at my feet twenty-six flags.

I went from there to Mauna Loa, where I

visited a school, a typical school, in which there were Filipinos, Javanese, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Samoans, Australians, Americans, Koreans. I said to the pupils, "Can any one tell me why we are at war?" A little girl 13 years old, half Chinese and half Hawaiian, rose and said: "I think I can, sir." We were upon the side of the mountain, looking out over the Pacific, and the only communication with the civilized world was across that ocean. "We are in this war," the child said, "because we want to keep the seas free—because we want to help those who need help." And I have yet to hear a better answer given. I would show this man whom I wished to Americanize, finally, how these children, whether Japanese or American, no matter what their origin, stood every morning before the American flag, and raised their little hands, and pledged themselves to one language, one country, and one God.

And when I would bring him back to this country and say, "Grasp the meaning of what I have shown you and you will know then what Americanism is. It is not 110,000,000 people alone, it is 110,000,000 people who have lived through struggle, and who have arrived through struggle, and who have won through work." Let us never forget that!

There is a sentimentality which would make it appear that in some millennial day man will not work. If some such calamity ever blights us, then man will fail and fall back. God is wise. His first and His greatest gift to man was the obligation cast upon him to labor. When he was driven out of the Garden of Eden, it was the finest, the most helpful thing that could have happened to the race. For when man passed that gate, he met a world in chaos, a world that challenged his every resource; a world that, alike, beckoned him on and sought to daunt him, a world that said, "If you will think, if you will plan, if you can persist, then I will yield to you. If you are without fibre, if you are content with your ignorance, if you surrender to fear, if you succumb to doubt, I shall overwhelm you."

The march of civilization is the epic of man as a workingman, and that is the rea-

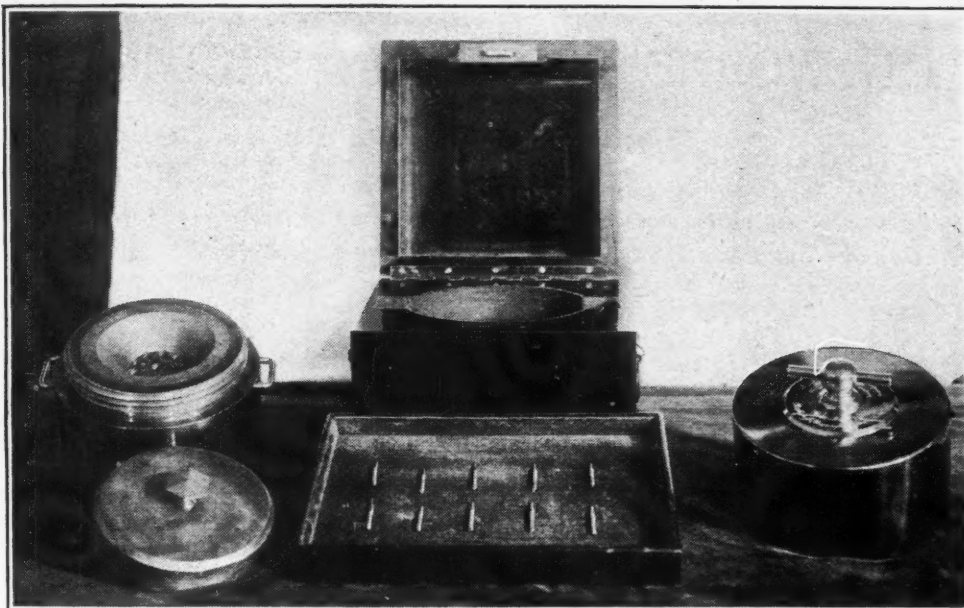
son why labor must always be held high. We have nothing previous that does not represent struggle. We have nothing of lasting value that does not represent determination. We have nothing admirable which does not represent self-sacrifice. We have no philosophy except the philosophy of confidence, of optimism, of faith in the righteousness of the contest we have made against nature.

We are to conquer this land in that spirit, and in that spirit we are to conquer other lands, for this our spirit is one that, like a living flame, goes abroad. Or I might compare it to some blessed wind—some soft, sweet wind that carries a benison across the Pacific and the Atlantic. We must keep alive in ourselves the thought that this spirit is Americanism—that it is robust, dauntless, kindly, hearty, fertile and irresistible, and that through it men win out against all adversity. That is what has made us great.

This spirit is sympathetic. It is compelling. It is revealing. It is, above all, just. The one peculiar quality in our institutions is, that not alone in our hearts, but out of our hearts, has grown a means by which man can acquire justice for himself.

That is the reason, my Russian friend, my Armenian friend, why this country is a home to you. Bring your music, bring your art, bring all your soulfulness, your ancient experience, to the melting pot, and let it enrich our mettle. We welcome every spiritual influence, every cultural urge, and in turn we want you to love America as we love it, because it is holy ground—because it serves the world.

Our boys went across the water—never let us hesitate to speak their glorious names in pride—our boys went across the water, because they were filled with the spirit that has made America; a spirit that meets challenge; a spirit that wants to help. Combine these two qualities and you have the essence of Americanism—a spirit symbolized by the Washington Monument; that clean, straight arm lifted to Heaven in eternal pledge that our land shall always be independent and free.



(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

GILDED CONTAINER FOR THE GRAM OF RADIUM WHICH PRESIDENT HARDING PRESENTED TO MME. CURIE FOR THE WOMEN OF AMERICA. THE \$100,000 WORTH OF RADIUM IS IN THE TEN LITTLE GLASS TUBES, WHICH ARE SEEN IN THE TRAY, BUT WHICH ARE KEPT IN THE TEN HOLES IN THE HEAVY LEADEN CONTAINER AT THE LEFT, AND THE CONTAINER IS SECURED BY THE COMBINATION LOCK SHOWN ON THE RIGHT.

HONORS FOR THE DISCOVERER OF RADIUM

EXTRAORDINARY honors, including degrees from many universities, were showered upon Mme. Marie Curie, the discoverer of radium, during the weeks of her visit to the United States. These tributes culminated in an impressive ceremony at the White House on May 20, 1921, when President Harding presented to the visitor a gram of radium purchased for her by American women at a cost of \$100,000. The radium—1,006 milligrams by careful measurement—was enclosed in a mahogany and lead container that weighed 110 pounds and cost \$2,700. The ceremony was attended by many distinguished diplomats and scientists. After M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, had formally introduced Mme. Curie, President Harding said to her:

We greet you as foremost among scientists in the age of science, as leader among women in the generation which sees woman come tardily into her own. * * * It has been your fortune, Mme. Curie, to accomplish an immortal work for humanity. We bring to you the meed of honor which is due to pre-eminence in science, scholarship, research and humanitarianism. But with it all we bring something more. We lay at your feet the testimony of that love which all the gen-

erations of men have been wont to bestow upon the noble woman, the unselfish wife, the devoted mother.

In testimony of the affection of the American people, of their confidence in your scientific work and of their earnest wish that your genius and energy may receive all encouragement to carry forward your efforts for the advance of science and conquest of disease, I have been commissioned to present to you these phials of radium. To you we owe our knowledge and possession of it, and so to you we give it, confident that in your possession it will be the means further to unvell the fascinating secrets of nature, to widen the field of useful knowledge, to alleviate suffering among the children of man. It betokens the affection of one great people for another.

Mme. Curie replied briefly and felicitously, thanking the President and the American people—in the name of France and of her native Poland—for honoring her "as no woman had ever been honored in America before"; she accepted the gift, she said, "in the hope that I may make it serve mankind."

Among later tributes paid to Mme. Curie was that of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, which elected her an honorary life member.

THE WORLD'S HOUSING SHORTAGE

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS

Why four million families are inadequately housed in the cities of the United States—The enormous increase of rents, and what is being done to correct the situation—A brief survey of the situation in England and continental Europe

ONE of the most serious consequences of the World War is the housing situation in many countries. Some of the events of the war are gradually being relegated to the domain of memories, and the peoples of the world have become accustomed to some of the changes it wrought. But the housing shortage is present and acute, affecting not only nations that were in the war, but those that were not. Its magnitude is such that a period of intense application to the subject will be necessary before the populations of the various countries can be assured of adequate housing accommodations.

During the war the nations were wholly absorbed in the great conflict. Millions of men were withdrawn from industry and sent to the front, and vast numbers of others had to leave their normal occupations to work in industries essential to the prosecution of the war. The consequence was that operations which did not contribute to the war were almost suspended. The building of houses was practically at a standstill. A host of workers in the building trades either went into the national armies, or their skill was utilized in the construction of ships, especially in the United States, which had to improvise a great new merchant marine. The use of pneumatic drills and other modern apparatus made the process of turning house builders into shipbuilders fairly easy.

The effect upon housing in the United States became sharply noticeable after the war. For a number of years before the war, there were built in the United States, it is estimated, between 350,000 and 400,000 family dwellings every year, including private homes and apartment houses. The war swelled the populations of cities and towns. Many rural residents went there to work, attracted by the high wages in war industries, while numerous relatives

of those drafted into the army, not caring to stay alone in the country, sought quarters in the cities. When the soldiers returned from Europe, many, instead of going back to the country districts, stayed in the cities. Meanwhile the natural increase of resident population was going on. There was the greatest demand for housing, and rents precipitately rose, yet in 1919 only about 70,000 houses were built throughout the United States.

The extent of the housing shortage in this country may be judged from the results of recent investigations. In an article published this year in *The American Contractor*, containing an estimate based on building permit statistics for fourteen large cities, it was estimated that the accumulated deficit by the beginning of 1921 amounted to about 147 per cent. of the normal annual building program, and that, therefore, the United States faced a demand equivalent to a normal output of two and a half years. After a careful examination, John Ihlder, manager of the Civic Department of the United States of Commerce, reported to the National Council of that body early in 1921 that the nation needed 1,250,000 new homes, and that 4,000,000 families lacked adequate housing. The report declared that many families were forced to "double up" in a single house or apartment, or to take in lodgers, and that this condition, if continued, might have serious effects upon morals and the spread of infectious diseases. The report further pointed out that those most affected by the housing shortage were the wage earners and small-salaried professions.

In New York City alone, according to a careful survey made by Health Commissioner Royal S. Copeland from the records of the Tenement House Department, living accommodations are required for about

100,000 families. This is in addition to the normal growth of the city, which requires accommodations for about 30,000 families annually. In many other cities the demand for housing is proportionately urgent.

THE INCREASE IN RENTS

The housing shortage has caused rents to increase enormously. A recent compilation by the United States Department of Labor on the average cost of living in the United States, from 1913 to the end of 1920, based upon investigation in thirty-two cities, gives the percentages. Up to December, 1917, rents had not risen 3 per cent. over the 1913 figure. By the end of 1918 they had increased 9.2 per cent. over 1913. By June, 1919, the percentage was 14.2. In the next six months it rose to 25.3, and to 34.9 by June, 1920. By December, 1920, it was 51.1 per cent. over the 1913 figures, and was still rising. The table shows that while rents have been making deeper and deeper inroads into the average family's budget, the prices of food, clothing and other goods have been going down. During and immediately after the war, it was the high prices demanded for commodities and merchandise that most engaged public attention. But now it is high rents that are causing general concern.

In every city there have been notably large increases in rents. How these specifically have risen is shown by other tables of the United States Department of Labor on the costs of living as compared with 1914. Usually, the percentage of increase from that year to the end of 1917 was slight. In New York rents increased an average of nearly 36 per cent., and about the same in Philadelphia from December, 1917, to December, 1920. In the same period they rose more than 47 per cent. in Chicago, nearly 25 per cent. in Boston and 46.5 per cent. in Baltimore.

The increase in rents in Cincinnati before 1917 was negligible, but from the close of that year rents began rising and the increase was 25 per cent. by December, 1920. In Indianapolis the increase was only 1.6 per cent. before 1918; by December, 1920, it reached 32.9 per cent. Likewise in Minneapolis the rent increase by the end of 1920 was 36.8 per cent., practically all of which took place after 1918.

The same conditions applied to New Or-

leans, the rent increase of which from 1918 to 1920 was 39.7 per cent., and to Memphis, Tenn., where the rent increase in three years was 66.2 per cent. Before 1918 St. Louis' rent increase was less than 3 per cent., but by December, 1920, it reached 42.4 per cent. Kansas City had a small rent increase of 5.4 per cent. before 1918; by December, 1920, it rose to 63.9 per cent.

In a number of cities considerable rent increases were made both before and after 1918. Detroit, a highly industrial city, the population of which was suddenly swelled, had a rent increase of 32.6 per cent. from 1914 to the end of 1917, from which figure it went up to 108 per cent. in December, 1920. Washington, D. C., overflowing with an influx of persons assisting in war activities, had a rent increase of 24.9 per cent. before 1918; by December, 1920, rents had increased a total of 68 per cent. Cleveland's rent increase from 1914 to 1917 was 11.3 per cent., rising to 80 per cent. in December, 1920. Norfolk, Va., the shipbuilding activities of which brought a quick growth of population, had to face by December, 1920, a rent increase of 90.8 per cent., nearly all of which came after 1917. Portland, Ore., also a shipbuilding port, had a 22.2 per cent. rent increase before 1918, after which it rose to 36.9 per cent.

Buffalo's rent increase was 9.4 per cent. before 1918; it then rose to 48.5 per cent. by December, 1920. Atlanta's rent increase went up from 14 per cent. in December, 1918, to 73.1 per cent. in December, 1920; Birmingham's from 8.1 to 68.5, Pittsburgh's from 7.6 to 35, Denver's from 12.8 to 69.8, and Richmond, Va., from 1 to 25.9 per cent. in the same period. The two cities in the list having the lowest percentage of rent increases are San Francisco and Oakland, Cal., with a total rent increase from 1914 to December, 1920, of only 15 per cent., and Scranton, Pa., with a rent increase of 18.5 per cent. in the same period.

LAWS TO ENCOURAGE BUILDING

Rents are still mounting, even in the States where remedial laws have been passed. Legislation designed to stop rent profiteering does not prevent landlords from raising rents, if they can produce proof that their costs justify the increases.

To encourage home building, some Legislatures, such as those of New York and

New Jersey, have passed laws allowing cities to grant tax exemption for varying periods. The New York City ordinance exempts for ten years new buildings, the construction of which is begun before April 1, 1922, up to \$5,000 for a one-family house, and \$10,000 for a two-family house, or at a rate of \$1,000 per room, not to exceed \$5,000 per apartment, for multi-family houses. In New Jersey a five-year exemption from taxation is allowed. These measures are stimulating the building of moderate-priced homes and apartments. The President of the Borough of Manhattan published figures on May 1, 1921, showing that the building of apartments in the five boroughs of New York City had increased more than 450 per cent. since the tax-exemption ordinance went into effect, as compared with the same period a year ago. In various parts of the United States house-building operations are energetically going on. The Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Texas, for instance, reported in March, 1921, a 50 per cent. increase in building activity in that district, as compared with the previous month.

The contention of builders has been that of all the items of expense in house building the largest has been the cost of labor, which comprises more than two-thirds of the cost of building a house. Extreme labor union rules, they assert, have greatly added to this cost; for example, where a few years ago a brick mason laid from 1,500 to 2,000 bricks a day, he has in recent years laid only half that number, and at double the wages that he formerly received. On the other hand, the building trades unions say that they had to adopt their rules in self-defense against gross abuses by unscrupulous contractors. That combinations have existed to keep up the price of certain building materials was shown by the report of the Federal Trade Commission and by the recent investigation in New York City, which brought convictions in the criminal courts. Collusion between labor leaders and contractors, and the use of the strike by labor leaders to extort money from builders, was shown by investigations in New York and Chicago; in New York, early in April, Robert P. Brindell, long head of the Building Trades Council, was taken to Sing Sing Prison to serve a sentence of from five to

ten years for extorting \$5,000 for calling off a strike.

Recently, however, the prices of building materials have declined somewhat from the excessive point reached last year. In some cities, building trades labor unions refused to accept a reduction in wages, but in others, notably in Chicago, such reductions were favorably considered, showing that building trades unions were beginning to realize that if housing relief is to come they also must do their part.

Meanwhile, the United States Senate Committee on Reconstruction and Housing, of which William M. Calder of New York is Chairman, has reported ten recommendations urging the Government to take some action for the erection of homes throughout the country. Two of its proposals for legislation deal with the gathering of data on construction methods, costs and designs, and the regular publication of these facts by Government agencies. Another recommendation concerns the speedy transportation of building materials. Still others would allow the Federal Reserve Board to lend money on long-time loans for home building, would put in operation various other financial functions, and would permit a certain tax exemption in order to encourage home-building throughout the nation.

ENGLAND'S LACK OF HOUSES

In England the housing situation is acute, and is felt most severely by the working classes. In general, a laborer's house was one which, before the war, could be built with a fair return on the money invested at an annual rental of £20. Previous to the war, about 60,000 to 100,000 of these types of houses were annually built; the average yearly construction from 1900 to 1910 was 80,000. During the war the building of houses practically ceased. It was estimated that by the end of 1918 there was a shortage of from 300,000 to 400,000 working-class houses. During the war almost nothing was done to repair old houses or to efface slum buildings.

J. J. Clarke, in his book, "The Housing Problem," published in London in 1920, estimated that there were at least 70,000 houses virtually unfit for habitation, and a further 300,000 which were seriously defective. But people had to continue living in these until better quarters were provided.

About 3,000,000 people were living in overcrowded conditions, which meant more than two in a room. An investigation by the London County Council showed that, in the area covered by its inquiry, 758,000 people were living in the most congested conditions.

After the war private building operations in England were greatly impeded by prohibitive building costs. In March, 1919, the Government took action. A bill was passed giving new and wider powers to the Ministry of Health, and another act in December, 1919, still further increased these powers. Housing action by local authorities was made compulsory.

England and Wales were divided into eleven districts, each of which was given a Housing Commissioner, responsible to the central staff of the Housing Department to work in co-operation with the local authorities. The local officials were required to make a survey of housing needs, and to submit to the Ministry of Health a scheme for meeting all or some of them. Building could be begun without waiting for the completion of the survey. Local authorities were ordered by the law to raise the money to carry out these projects. In small districts, however, where the taxable value was low, the Ministry of Health was empowered, under certain conditions, to make a loan for building purposes. Special subsidies were also offered to public utility societies, and direct grants to private persons building houses of approved types which would help in relieving the housing shortage.

No time was lost in establishing the administrative machinery to carry out these projects. Preliminary surveys showed the urgent need of at least 800,000 houses. Other estimates put the figure at 500,000 houses. In February, 1920, Dr. Addison, Minister of Health, estimated that if building labor were available, 100,000 houses might be completed by the end of 1920 and 200,000 in 1921.

These expectations, it turned out, were oversanguine. In answer to a question in the House of Commons on Oct. 20, 1920, Dr. Addison reported that only 10,042 houses had been completed; of these, 7,448 were provided by local authorities and public utility societies under the Housing act and the other 2,594 by private persons under the

subsidy scheme. In addition to these completed houses, there were under construction on Oct. 1, 1920, 59,520 houses, which were mostly being built by local authorities and private utility societies. The number of houses covered by signed contracts by the beginning of 1921 totaled 133,000. Tenders had been approved for 148,158 houses.

For these disappointing results different reasons have been given. There have been charges and countercharges of red tape, of holding up of supplies by profiteers, of restriction of output by workers, of trade union opposition to the open shop and other explanations. Of one thing there is no doubt: the ranks of the building workers were sadly shorn by the war. Figures show the war's havoc in reducing the number of bricklayers, joiners, masons and others. Sixty local guilds of building workers have, however, been formed sufficiently to bid for housing contracts.

Whatever the estimated housing needs of England, whether the conservative figure of 500,000 dwellings or the larger one of 800,000 dwellings is accepted, the fact remains that only a very small number, reported to be about 60,000, had been begun and about 12,000 completed by the end of 1920. Although further progress has been made in 1921, the housing shortage is still a huge problem. In some districts the people's dire needs have led to the seizure of unoccupied houses or public buildings, and in a number of sections the huts used by the army camps during the war have been used for temporary dwellings. A bill was recently introduced in Parliament authorizing the commandeering of unoccupied houses suitable for working-class dwellings and their use in relieving the emergency.

Scotland, with a population less than that of New York City, was confronted, after the war, with a shortage of about 150,000 houses. Popular solicitude over the situation resulted in mass meetings throughout the country. The outcome was that a Government Committee of Inquiry Into the High Cost of Building Working-Class Houses was appointed; the Scottish Board of Health gave its attention to the problem; and local official bodies pressed practical demands for remedial action. The consequence was the granting of State aid for housing. By the end of February, 1920, contracts had been let for the construction

of 19,137 houses to cost £17,968,966, or a little more than \$70,000,000 at current rates of exchange.

As in England, the concrete results in Scotland have been disappointing. A report of meetings of the Government Committee of Inquiry in Edinburgh, presented by J. L. Jack, Director of Housing under the Scotch Board of Health, declared that although land was cheaper than five years ago, the Government's aid project had inflated land values. It accused contractors in many instances of profiteering, and asserted that the cost of materials had increased 25 per cent. since 1919, giving specific facts to prove the charge. The report also said that labor was not giving adequate work, thus largely increasing construction costs. According to the report a survey by local authorities in December, 1920, indicated a shortage in Scotland of 131,000 houses, of which the local authorities proposed to provide 115,000. Mr. Jack reported that the local authorities' estimate of housing shortage was, in his opinion, too conservative. The Scottish people have been so aroused over housing conditions and so insistent upon a remedy that a Scottish Housing and Town Planning Congress was held in Edinburgh on April 19 and 20, 1921. One of its objects was to urge the Scottish Members of Parliament to carry out their pledges in obtaining full measures to relieve the housing shortage.

FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES

Although Paris and some other French cities are overcrowded and rents have greatly increased, the problem of the French people is concerned first of all with restoring the districts so frightfully devastated by the Germans in the north of France. By February, 1921, more than 2,000 co-operative societies of reconstruction had been formed and were in active operation. Through the *Crédit National* the Government is assisting them by subventions and advances. Construction of houses for workmen has been facilitated by funds advanced to industrial enterprises and to various societies formed for the purpose of building model dwellings. In addition, special corporations have been authorized to construct such dwellings.

Holland is one of the countries which kept out of the war, yet it, too, has a pressing shortage. The demand for houses both

for workers and for the general public is so great that for the first time in its history Holland has consented to the erection of wooden houses. Hitherto, because of climatic conditions, the high cost of wood, and the traditional building policy of the authorities, practically all buildings for permanent occupancy have been constructed of brick, stone or concrete. The wooden houses now being built are for permanent use and are portable, so that they can be transferred from one industrial plant to another, as necessity requires. Each house is for a single family and costs about 3,300 florins, which is about \$1,800 at present exchange rates.

Switzerland, though not involved in the war, has been filled with political refugees who have added to its population. There the housing shortage has been such that rents have hugely increased and in many cases are now more than double what they were in 1914.

In all the larger cities of Hungary the need of more houses is urgent. Budapest is the greatest sufferer; its population is estimated to be 50 per cent. greater than before the war. Building construction was entirely stopped by the war and people have crowded into the city from the country districts. There has also been a great influx of people who left the territories of pre-war Hungary now occupied by Czechoslovaks, Rumanians and Jugoslavs. Since late in 1919 many of these refugees have been existing in freight cars standing on switches of the principal railway stations at Budapest and in many other parts of the country. Others of the homeless have been assigned quarters by the authorities, who have commandeered all space considered to be in excess of the requirements of the occupier. Recently it was announced that the Hungarian Government was to take measures for the construction of houses in the congested districts.

In Germany, it is estimated, fully 1,000,000 dwellings are desperately needed, but no building whatever is going on, largely because of the general lack of materials and their prohibitive cost when obtainable. The Housing Commission has requisitioned all unoccupied dwellings and assigned families to live in them. Rich occupants having more room in their mansions than

they need have been compelled to take in any lodgers that the Government sends.

Faced by a large deficiency in dwellings, Italy has enacted drastic rent restriction laws, effective until July 1, 1922. The increases of rent are restricted in the case of well-to-do tenants to 40 per cent., and are graduated on a scale that does not permit more than a 10 per cent. increase to working people. But, as an inducement to investors to build, these rent restrictions do not apply to new houses constructed within a certain period.

CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

Canada, too, is wrestling with the housing problem, which is occupying the attention of many of its cities. Winnipeg is an example of the large decrease in house construction before and after the war. During the two years before the war, 3,392 houses and 149 apartments were built. In the five years from 1915 to 1919, only 258 houses and 11 inferior apartments were constructed, and in 1920 only 262 houses and 11 small converted apartments were built in Winnipeg. In view of the house famine there and the sudden increase in rents, the Manitoba Council of Industry recently made an inquiry to determine whether there was any basis for the charge that the landlord was profiteering. It reported that costs including taxes had so increased that landlords were not receiving an excessive return upon their investment.

In Australia, according to a recent resolution of the Master Builders' Federal Convention, one of the main causes of the lack of dwellings is the scarcity and high cost of materials, due to the dislocation of industry and the lessened production resulting from

the war; other causes are the loss of mechanics killed or incapacitated during the war, leading to scarcity of labor; the lessened output due to shortening of hours and general decrease of efficiency and the moving of men out of industry into the agricultural regions. The convention recommended that vocational classes be made available for training unskilled men for the building trades. It further urged that the erection of other than residential buildings be limited. The State of Victoria, Australia, has been putting into effect comprehensive home-building plans for returned soldiers and sailors. The War Service Homes Commissioner has bought large areas and is having them laid out in accordance with the latest town planning ideas. In the city of Melbourne provision has been made for 1,115 dwellings.

In various parts of New Zealand the demand for workingmen's homes has far exceeded the supply. There, as elsewhere, costs of construction are high. In addition, there has been a scarcity of building materials, and private capital has been timid in making investments in private houses. To relieve the acute housing shortage the New Zealand Parliament recently appropriated \$3,742,900 for the building of workers' homes in different centres of the country during 1921.

Thus the available data on the subject show that the situation so acutely felt in the United States extends to the whole civilized world and amounts in the aggregate to a shortage of many millions of dwellings. It is evident that a long and trying period must intervene before the people of the various countries can again have anything like the number of homes they really need.

THE WAR'S HARVEST OF THE UNBORN

THE world is now familiar enough with the statistics of life-loss during the war. It has remained for Dr. Richard P. Strong, a Professor of Tropical Medicine at the Harvard Medical School, to estimate the potential loss of life entailed in the untimely cutting off of the nations' manhood in its flower. According to the estimates of Dr. Strong, the loss in the world's population, both actual and potential,

reaches at a conservative estimate the staggering total of 43,000,000 people. It will take France—the chief sufferer—70 years to recover her former population, thinks Dr. Strong. He further estimates the direct financial cost of the struggle at the sum of \$84,000,000,000, and the cost to all nations together, directly or indirectly concerned, at the gigantic total of \$348,000,000,000.

THE TREND OF DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

BY FRANK BOHN, PH. D.

How the pathway of democratic government has been blocked by the old ideals of kingship since the close of the World War—The political drift in Central Europe—Momentous importance of the ultimate decision of Germany and Russia

AFTER the revolution in Central and Eastern Europe, the next event on the schedule is the counter-revolution. What are the plans, what the hopes of the exiled monarchs and aristocrats? What thoughts of loyalty and love for their deposed rulers still animate the minds of the common people in the revolutionary countries?

In April, 1915, I paused momentarily to join a crowd in one of the famous resident streets of Berlin. The crowd included perhaps a hundred people, workingmen, tradespeople, common soldiers and servant girls. My doubt as to the motive for the gathering did not last long. The nearest house door swung open. A liveried lackey appeared upon the steps. An automobile drew up before the gate. At the door appeared one of the younger Princes of the House of Hohenzollern and his Princess. The men in the crowd uncovered. As royalty passed by, an awed whisper came from many lips: "God prosper you!"

The feeling here expressed was undeniably religious. In the mind of aristocrat and peasant alike, loyalty to the sovereign under the old régime has partaken of the nature of religious worship. All democratic revolutions in the last four centuries, the French Revolution not excepted, have begun with the overthrow in the individual mind of this deep-seated religious postulate. But Americans do not pause to reflect that the ancient way of thinking in this matter has been the norm. Our own attitude is exceptional, and has been but recently developed. Considered as biological evolution, modern democracy is still an adventure, to which human nature, generally, may or may not finally adjust itself.

There is only one first-class nation in the world which has made a purely republican

form of government succeed for more than half a century, and that is our own. The French Revolution itself has given France, after eighty-two years of monarchy mixed with turmoil, exactly fifty years of the Third Republic. In the whole of Europe, the mountain fastness of Switzerland, 16,000 square miles in extent, alone upholds the banner of a republicanism toward which there is turned no jealous monarchial eye. A consideration of these facts is disconcerting, to say the least, to the partisans of democracy universal. Thrones have toppled. The incumbents have been shaken off. But the thrones are still standing, and their late occupants are anxious to reassume power.

Constantine has already been returned to the throne of Greece amid the acclamations of the vast majority of the Greek people. Neither aristocracy nor property interests could have consummated this counter-revolution against the will of a popular majority. "Nevertheless, the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we will have a King over us." (I. Samuel, viii., 19.) The Hebrews demanded a King despite the voice of Providence, and the Greeks have reinstated theirs contrary to the united demand of France, Britain and Italy.

During the last seven years democracy has been making its real birth struggle as a world force. Let it not be forgotten that from the Protestant Revolution until 1910 democracy evolved a social order only on the western fringes of Europe and in America. If we place before ourselves a map of the Eastern Hemisphere, we quickly see how insignificant were the areas recreated by the revolutions in England and France. The primary fact in the history of this last decade has been not the war, but the

revolutions which followed the war. Since 1910 revolution has burst forth from the Rhine to Kamchatka and from the Baltic to the China Sea. It is rending the British Empire in Ireland, Egypt and India. In each of these dependencies the fundamental appeal is being made in terms of democracy and republicanism. The Chinese revolution is, in itself, far too stupendous a fact to be comprehended, as yet, by the Western mind. Taken as a whole, this revolutionary event may well be considered by the future as the most important in the history of our age. But the mind of our Western world has been obsessed by war, and our activities have centred around the making of war and the making of peace. Meanwhile the immediate outcome of the revolutions has apparently ceased to interest the leading members of the Government of the United States. And yet it is a primary determining factor as regards the essentials of world civilization for all time to come.

IN HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA

What is the present political trend, either for democracy or away from it, in the recently arisen Central European States organized or reorganized as republics? In Greece, Hungary, Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia—above all, in the new Germany?

Greece has chosen to return to monarchy, and the former King was able to regain his throne without a struggle. But what was so easy for Greece has proved at least temporarily impossible for Hungary; the future may have a different result to show. Hungary, more than any other revolutionary country in Europe, represents the logical outcome of failure and despair. The four years and four months of war, with the Hungarian conscience but half enlisted; the defeat, with territorial disruption and national isolation; a few months of a struggling, impossible democracy, and then Bolshevism for over four months; renewed war upon Rumania with a second defeat and the capture and sacking of Budapest—these disastrous events left but one thing to do—to return to tyranny. Such a return is exemplified by the present régime of Admiral Horthy.

The coup attempted by the late Emperor Charles in Hungary gives to the American public its first intimation of the realities

of monarchical reaction. The never-ending intrigues—the fishing in troubled waters; ceaseless preparation of local conditions by the monarchical elements; the constant throwing of the international politics of Europe into turmoil and confusion—all this is foreshadowed by the visit which Charles has made to the shrunken remains of the Hungary over which he once ruled. But this is not 1815. Charles is backed by no Holy Alliance. On the contrary, the members of the Little Entente, each of which has prospered territorially at the expense of Hungary, threatened to invade, and Charles withdrew. He has lost the first round. But he and his heirs will come again, and again, and still again. The people, if not the present Government of Hungary, desire the return of Charles. If the question were placed before the Hungarian people, with the ballot boxes open to all, Charles would today be elected, as was Constantine, by a comfortable majority.

The Hungarian peasantry has not been in the slightest degree revolutionary, though the Calvinist element quietly accepted the republic and would continue their support if others would furnish the initiative. The sturdy and powerful Hungarian junkers vie with their Prussian colleagues in clearness of purpose and striking power. How long will the Kings of Yugoslavia and Rumania be so agreeably disposed toward the Republic of Czechoslovakia that they will join hands with it against their brother monarch?

Republican prospects in Austria are much fairer than in Hungary, and for three reasons, one far from satisfying to the friends of democracy. The first lies in the nature of Austrian society. We have here an educated and intelligent peasantry, as the peasant populations of Europe go. The Austrians resemble not the Prussians, but the South Germans. The entire population was profoundly affected by 1848—much more so than the population of Prussia. The second reason lies in the present sad state of the Austrian people. They are starving and hopeless. If they are to live they must eat out of the hand of the great allied powers. The various Socialist elements are, temporarily, in complete domination of the Austrian Government, and are likely to remain so indefinitely. The Austrian junkers

correspond neither in power nor in point of view to those of Prussia or Hungary. Today their landed estates are being rapidly expropriated. Finally, the basic purpose of Austrian policy is and will be union with Germany, with which country their future is bound up. At present the Austrians want no Hapsburg in the way of their salvation.

DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

Monarchy in Poland brings sad memories to mind. The Polish Nation was disrupted and divided by Prussia, Austria and Russia in the eighteenth century, because the aristocracy could not agree upon the election of a King. There is no Polish royal house to furnish heirs to legitimacy. No doubt the mass of the Polish people, peasantry and urban dwellers alike, are still as unfitted for a successful democracy as the Prussians. Yet the national tendency will be to worry along. There is, of course, the recent example of the Balkan nations, Serbia, Rumania and Bulgaria, each of which in turn, as it was liberated from the thralldom of the Turk, selected a King and hastily assembled the trappings of royalty. If the Polish people should fail utterly in their democratic effort, it is conceivable that they might do as their neighbors have done. At present, however, Poland, by her strong alliance with France and her conclusion of peace with Soviet Russia, offers fair prospects of stability, and there are sound reasons for hoping that the Government's efforts toward economic reconstruction will complete the work of making Poland "safe for democracy."

In Czechoslovakia conditions are basically different from those of any other country of Central Europe. In each nation under discussion the question we have set before us must be reviewed in terms of history, both recent and remote. Bohemia was the "first fruits" of modern democracy in Europe. Seventy years before America was discovered, a generation following the rebellion of the bold Wat Tyler in England, democratic Bohemia was rising desperately against the banded tyrants of Church and State in Europe. Her good fight of that time, renewed during the Protestant Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, only to be lost again, has left in Czechoslovakia a profound tradition of democracy. Of all the republics east of the Rhine, that of Czecho-

slovakia has today the best chance of survival in its present form. In 1919 there was real danger of Bolshevism. The débâcle in Russia has now removed this threat. Barring foreign domination, the republican form of government may be considered as permanent here as in France or Switzerland.

So complex are the forces at work in Germany, so involved in foreign politics are all interior policies, that definite conclusions regarding that country are impossible at the present time. The mass of the peasantry in all parts of Germany would, no doubt, join the junkers in welcoming back the petty monarchs and the Kaiser. In East and West Prussia, the peasantry are as yet little removed from serfdom. The so-called German revolution of November, 1918, was in reality no revolution at all. As I wrote somewhat later, in *The New York Times*, the coup d'état of Nov. 9 was arranged for by the Imperial Government. Actual invasion by the Allies would no doubt have led to a real democratic uprising. The junker coup d'état, by which Ebert and Scheidemann remained, temporarily, the depositaries of power, was the most successful piece of political camouflage in the history of the world. "Peace with honor" meant that the internal situation could perhaps be saved.

AIMS OF GERMAN JUNKERS

Just what was it that the imperial power sought to keep through the period of defeat and political disintegration? The answer is simplicity itself. The junkers feared nothing so much as the forcible seizure and division of their landed estates. Before their very eyes, literally, and wandering from pillar to post, were the exiled and starving aristocrats of Russia. The Russian landed estates had been seized and parceled out during the Spring of 1918. The German junkers temporarily surrendered political power, but kept their estates. In this they were greatly aided by the Spartacist rebellion of January, 1919, headed by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Landed property was never so valuable in Germany as it is today. Potatoes, grain and meat are at a premium. Compared with other elements of the German population, the junkers were never before so rich.

This, then, is not the time to talk about the junkers' sudden demise. Never before

was the world so full of revolution and counter-revolution. Changes are kaleidoscopic. The junkerdom coolly calculates that the whirligig of time must, of itself, bring it again into full possession of political power. It looks at the pigmies who lead the various elements of the German Socialist movement, and wonders how they can last from morning to night. The junkers are one of the most efficient and purposeful groups of men produced by the history of modern Europe. This class carries its self-esteem to the point of fanaticism. It will play any game and make or break any rules to serve its purpose.

THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

What about the mind and purpose of the German working class? I have touched upon the fact that the peasantry is essentially undemocratic. In Brandenburg, Pomerania, and East and West Prussia, the Protestant peasantry still votes for the candidates of the junker party as it did in the time of Bismarck.

In South Germany, however, the peasantry forms the foundation of the Catholic Party, and the "Blacks" and the "Blues" are today estranged. The leaders of the Catholic Party have seemingly accepted the republic with faith and good-will. We can understand this when we reflect that the peasants of German-speaking Alsace, though Catholic, are politically French and republican. Catholic South Germany, like Alsace-Lorraine and the Rhineland, fell under the liberating influence of the French Revolution during the Napoleonic régime. Its peasantry, also, because of fundamental racial characteristics, is more like the French than the North Germans. North Germany is Nordic or Teutonic. South Germany, like Central and Eastern France, is Alpine (sometimes wrongly called Celtic) in racial stock. This fact has never been sufficiently emphasized in Central European history. The South German and Austrian peasants have never been militarized.

The Centrist Party, with the regular Social Democratic Party and the Democrats, forms the middle-class bulwark against the extremes of right and left. The recent election for the Prussian Assembly, like the national election of a year ago, furnished an indication of this tendency, which will go still further. The parties of

the middle class lost heavily both to the right and the left. We are driven to the conclusion that no party in Germany today can make the people accept fully the reparations program which France has demanded and succeeded in getting her allies to sanction. If a national election were held today, the parties of the middle would suffer further diminution of power. The tendency, more and more, is for South German peasantry and Rhenish province Catholic worker and small shopkeeper to turn in desperation, not to the junkers, but to the party of the great industrialists.

The Social Democratic rank and file, on the other hand, is being pulled apart and drawn toward the right and left. Similarly the Independents are being disintegrated and driven in two directions. A year ago we were calculating, because of the results in the national elections, that the Independents would absorb half the regulars. Time has changed all this. The Independent Socialist Party, broken in halves by the recent Communist crisis in its party congress, is now chaotic. The whole situation seethes, and the elements are being thrown hither and thither. While the majority Socialists lost thirty votes in the Prussian election of Feb. 20, the Independents gained a paltry five.

The recent communist rebellion, which suddenly flared up and as quickly died down, represents a deep underlying agitation. A few weeks before the outbreak a communist paper in Munich boldly appealed to the junker students of the universities to join with them and prepare for the day of the new liberation war of Germany against the Allies. Both the ruling Socialist bloc and the Independent Socialists, meanwhile, are battered about by exterior forces. Allied pressure of all sorts tends to embarrass any whose present or past action makes them responsible. While Bolshevism remains dominant in Russia, neither the Independent Socialists nor the German Communists can possibly settle upon a continuing internal policy.

The tragedy of middle-class power as represented by the present Government lies in the fact that, whether its enemies to the right and left unite or remain divided, the danger to the present order is almost equally great. During the recent communist rebellion the junkers hid from sight, and no

doubt cherished many secret hopes. Should another junker uprising occur like the Kapp "putsch" of last Spring, the Communists will not be nearly so ready to execute the present strike orders of the Government. Their tendency will be to wait and see the junkers temporarily seated in power, with the understanding that they will strike on their own initiative and for their own purposes.

THE INDUSTRIALIST GROUP

I have never been able to understand why the allied Governments—especially Great Britain under the leadership of Lloyd George—have not realized the possibility of bracing the present Government of Germany. This could be done through stimulating German industries, furnishing raw materials on credit and finding foreign markets. Of all possible Governments in Germany, the one which holds power at present, despite the midwifery attending its long-delayed birth, is most likely to maintain internal peace, develop toward a sound democracy, and pay the reparations bill recently agreed upon.

One phenomenon which will undoubtedly have its influence in that development, however, is the rise to power of the great German industrialists. It should be noted that war and the aftermath of war have made for the complete political disintegration of the lesser bourgeoisie, which, in the recent Prussian elections, sent only 26 members to the Assembly, as compared with 92 for the Centrists and 114 for the majority Socialists. The great industrialist group, however, is a horse of a totally different color. The stupendous forces which went into the making of the German imperialism of 1914 could never have been assembled or organized without the industrialists' willing help. From first to last the former Kaiser exerted himself to win the complete sympathy and support of this class. Its leaders were men to conjure with. Such were the Krupps and Albert Ballin, and, today, Hugo Stinnes. Despite all socialistic camouflage, this is the dominant class in Germany today. The total failure of the Socialist politicians to make even a beginning in the socialization of German industries has more than ever before thrown economic power into their hands. Since the armistice, the Government has not only refused to socialize new industries, but has steadily loosened its

hold upon all the important state-owned and state-managed industries of the pre-war period. Every failure of the Government in the economic sphere has meant the rise to greater authority of the "captain of industry." Germany is now rapidly developing a laissez-faire economic system. Supposedly, this is balanced by the shop councils. In reality, the shop councils in Germany are moribund, and are likely to remain so for a long time. The Rockefellers and Morgans of Germany are coming to dominate her political as well as her economic life.

If the 60,000,000 of German people are to eat and wear clothes, they must regain their foreign trade. Otherwise there is room in Germany for only 40,000,000, living at a low standard. The present wabbling and inefficient German State furnishes no effective direction. So actual power naturally gravitates to two classes, the junkers and the great industrialists, with the latter dominant.

The degree to which the military help of the junkers may be used depends upon the degree of unemployment and starvation which will make revolutions and counter-revolutions possible. Prophecies have little value, yet I may venture the suggestion that the junkers will wish, as before the war, to league themselves with the great industrialists. Under conditions of revolutionary threat, a very possible and efficient bloc could be made up of junkers, industrialists and the Catholic Party. Of 428 seats in the Prussian Assembly, these three parties, in the election of Feb. 20, won a total of 225. In a national election they would now do quite as well. A further drift of the Socialists to the left would drive the Centrists to the right.

CHANCES OF THE HOHENZOLLERNS

And yet, as regards Germany, I would say—and this, despite the statement of German friends for whose opinion I have very great regard, and despite all the facts above cited—that there is no real danger of the return of the Hohenzollerns and the lesser royalties to power. If the junkers still hold a large measure of power, it is because of the value and importance of their landed estates. Elsewhere they have lost. The economic system they built during their mighty past, under the leadership of Bismarck and Wilhelm—the régime of monar-

chial State socialism—is breaking down at every point. Meanwhile the masses of the people, in city and country, are being driven by the existing conditions to accept the leadership of those who, all agree, are best fitted to guide the wreck of Germany away from the rocks and the whirlpools. This suggests that the Government of Germany during the transition period will resolve itself into some form of oligarchy. Only time will tell.

Not only in Germany, but in every country of Central Europe and the Balkans the chances of democracy may be affected largely by conditions in Russia. He who conceives of Bolshevism primarily as an economic system has but a superficial view of the Bolshevik régime. Bolshevism may be compared, psychologically, to Mohammedanism. Barbaric and fanatical, Bolshevism is a reactionary phase of crowd psychology during the war and post-war periods. It has dominated Russia and permeated Central Europe as a result of the unutterable despair of a seemingly endless and terribly destructive war.

The hope of the Western democracies that the Russia of 1917 could find her way to a republican form of government was all too

soon dispelled. With the revolution of March, 1917, the small democratic group of European-trained democratic intellectuals tried to substitute themselves for the monarchy. The Bolshevik clique ruthlessly snatched power from them, and has held it ever since by simply murdering its opponents by the thousands. From 80 to 90 per cent. illiterate, resembling in all their mentality and mode of life more the people of China and India than those of Western Europe, the Russian masses now stoically await the coming of a kindlier rule. The final determination of Russia's form of government may have a far-reaching effect on the history of the new nations.

The hectic two and a half years which have followed the end of the World War have obstructed, but we hope not permanently, the way of democracy in Europe. Some of us thought in December, 1918, some of us still think today, that Europe cannot save herself. A truly democratic and comprehensive League of Nations alone could have brought freedom and order to her broken peoples within a reasonable time. Meanwhile, as the days and years pass, the exiled monarchs and the advocates of democracy alike sit without, buoyed up by hope, and watch the witches' caldron boil.

JAPANESE "CULTURE" PEARLS

JEWELERS in London have been greatly perturbed over a new type of "culture" pearls, which is said to be so perfect that it cannot be distinguished from the natural article. Prominent pearl merchants met on May 5, 1921, to discuss measures of self-protection. The Japanese firm of K. Mikimoto, which has developed this business, explained through its London representatives that its founder had been experimenting with the artificial cultivation of pearls since 1879. The process developed by Mr. Mikimoto is exactly like the natural process: an irritant is introduced into the living oyster, causing the secretion of nacre, which gradually covers the foreign particle until it has grown into a symmetrical pearl. At first this semi-artificial product was more or less defective, but at last it has come to be so completely like a natural pearl that not even an expert can tell the difference. The process is thus described:

A tiny round core of mother of pearl is introduced into the liver of the oyster. The oysters are then "parked" in one of our seabed farms, and after some six years the shells are re-examined, and perfect pearls are found to have been produced, the only difference being that man, instead of nature, had introduced the irritant. It is quite impossible to tell the natural pearl from the cultured pearl, and the life and lustre of both are identical. Our contention is that in beauty and real value there is nothing to choose between the two varieties. * * * Everybody in the trade knows that our pearls are cultured, and we sell them as such. * * * It is, of course, quite impossible to trace their later history, and it is possible that their real origin may be lost sight of.

The dealers declared that they would find means to protect the legitimate trade. Some of them contended that the culture pearls had "a glassy, bluey look," and that nothing had been produced to give the appearance of the finest product, such as the Indian pearl.

JUGOSLAVIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

BY DR. IVAN SCHVEGEL

Late Member of the Yugoslav Parliament, Belgrade

Chief points of the basic law under which the new triple kingdom will soon be pursuing its career—Conflict of parties over certain features—Centralization versus Federation

THE political and economic consolidation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is making fast and permanent progress. The crisis under which Europe is still suffering—and not Europe alone, but the whole world, including the countries not directly affected by the war—naturally also reacts upon Yugoslavia, and delays the settlement of many important questions, otherwise her progress would be even more apparent. But good observers will realize that incidents of secondary importance, though they may appear large for the moment, cannot have any considerable influence upon the national development of a great and rich country—with an area as large as Italy's—inhabited by 14,000,000 diligent and patriotic people, chiefly agricultural, and led by a progressive and far-sighted Government.

After the terrible devastation of Serbia and the great suffering and disorder in the other provinces, caused by the war, order and security have now been established. The new Constitution of the Yugoslav Kingdom now being framed by the Constituent Assembly will in a few months be a reality under the leadership of Serbia's veteran statesman, Nicola Pashitch. After a lifelong experience as a leader in his own Serbia, M. Pashitch has now shown marked ability and patience in dealing with the greater and more complex problems of united Yugoslavia.

Upon his return from the Peace Conference, where he headed the Yugoslav delegation, he again assumed the Presidency of the Belgrade Government after the last elections, and, for the purpose of securing the passage of the constitutional laws, managed to form a working majority of the two largest parties, the Radicals and the Democrats, to whom were later added the

Mohammedan Party and a fraction of the Farmers' Party, representing in all a bloc of 240 members.

There remain in the opposition the Communists, the Catholic Party, the Republicans, the National Club, the Raditch Party of Croatia—the latter controlling half the mandates from Croatia—the Socialists and the majority of the Farmers' Party. The latter two, however, though outside of the Government, are not expected to obstruct the Government policy, while the other opposition forces, opposing the Government each on its own special grounds, lack coherence, and cannot at this time form a general policy and Government of their own. Therein lies the strength of Mr. Pashitch's present combination.

The following is a short résumé of the eighty-six articles of the Constitution as submitted to Parliament by the Government:

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is a constitutional, parliamentary, hereditary monarchy. The official language is the Serbo-Croat, and in Slovenia also the Slovenian dialect of that language. Laws and citizenship are uniform for the whole kingdom. Titles of nobility are abolished. Personal liberty, private property, freedom of conscience and worship, freedom of the press and of assemblage are guaranteed.

The legislative power is shared by the sovereign and the Parliament. The King appoints army and Government officers and represents the country in its relations with foreign countries. He declares war and concludes peace, but in cases where Yugoslavia is not actually attacked by another country the declaration of war is dependent on the consent of Parliament. The King convokes Parliament, and can also

dissolve it, in which case new elections must take place within three months. No act of the sovereign is valid without countersignature by the proper Minister. The King becomes of age at 18 years. The reigning dynasty is the house of Karageorgevitch.

Parliament, whose members enjoy personal immunity, was to consist of two houses, the House of Commons and the Senate; the former, with 300 members, to be chosen by general, equal and secret ballot, for a term of four years; every citizen who has reached the twenty-first year to have the right to vote, except officers and soldiers in active service. The Senate, according to the Government proposal, was intended to consist of 100 members, not less than 40 years old, with at least high school education. It could not be dissolved. Senators were to be elected for nine years, one-third every third year. Laws to be passed by the House of Commons and forwarded to the Senate, which would either accept or return them with counter-proposals. If the Commons refused to assent to changes by the Senate and the latter persisted in them, the law, after one month, would come up again before the lower house, and become valid if passed by a qualified majority. This procedure has become unnecessary by the fact recently reported in cable dispatches, that the Constituent Assembly in its final vote has decided to drop the entire Senate proposition and to adhere to the old Serbian principle of a single House (Skupshtina).

The executive powers are exercised by the King through the Ministerial Cabinet. For executive purposes the country is divided into provinces, districts and townships. The provinces shall not exceed thirty-five; they will enjoy considerable self-government in provincial assemblies and provincial committees, elected on the same principle as the central Parliament. The State Council will act as the highest administrative tribunal for settling conflicts between the various administrative authorities. Half of its members will be elected by the people, half named by the King. The obligation for military service and taxes is general. Taxes can be introduced only by law. A special chapter deals with the independence of courts and jurisdiction. Changes can be introduced into the Constitution only by a two-thirds majority of the Representatives in the Skupshtina.

This is the Constitution proposed by the Government as the result of the Radical-Democratic compromise; with some modifications it will probably be accepted. At least five other drafts, differing more or less, were submitted by the parties according to their political programs. The Farmers placed particular insistence on agrarian questions and reforms, while the Socialists demanded far-reaching social legislation. The Government met their requests by adding to the Constitution an entire chapter on social and economic regulations, which, to a great extent, only emphasizes and broadens its own proposals.

It remains to be seen if, in these days of changing reforms, a detailed social program should be introduced into a Constitution. Some points, however, will be of great importance; for instance, State workingmen's insurance, obligatory intervention of the State to prevent or settle social conflicts, and the stipulation that whenever private property must be expropriated, this cannot be done without just compensation to the owner. This rule will help to promote order and safety and to secure our commercial and economic relations with foreign countries. A so-called Economic Council, composed of representatives of all producing elements of the country, will be created to propose, discuss and elaborate all economic legislation before it is presented to Parliament for final acceptance.

The most difficult part of the internal economic problems of Yugoslavia, as well as of other European countries, is the agrarian question, dealing with the partition and distribution of the large estates and privately owned forest lands, and compensation of the owners. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, it is intended that not more than 250 hectares of forest and 150 hectares of agricultural land shall be owned by one individual. [A hectare is equivalent to 2.47 acres.] The fact that the Yugoslav Mohammedan Party, representing the large proprietors of Bosnia, whose possession dates from the days of the Turkish conquest, has accepted membership in the same Cabinet with some of the small Farmers' partisans who advocate reform, is proof that a compromise of a similar character has also been arrived at in Jugoslavia. It is said that the Mohammedan Begs in Bos-

nia will receive a compensation of 250,000,000 crowns in return for the estates (begluk) which they will have to surrender. In other parts of the country this problem is less acute; in Serbia it does not exist at all.

Since I am myself materially interested in this matter I can speak of it only with caution, but it is safe to say that too radical a reform would not only be an injustice, but also an impossibility in a country like Yugoslavia, which still lacks intensive agricultural development and internal colonization. Complete reform can be achieved only in time, after careful study, with good organization and large financial means. All these are still wanting to the necessary extent. A compromise solution will therefore be enacted which will not completely satisfy anybody, but will divide dissatisfaction among all concerned.

The other objections to the proposed Constitution, based upon the differing party programs of the Republicans, the Raditch Party, the National Club of Croatia and the Catholic Party of Slovenia, exhibit a more fundamental difference from the Government's stand in what is really the main issue of the constitutional controversy, the question between centralization and federalism. They ask for the division of the country into autonomous provinces. The Republicans demand a plebiscite to decide the matter. The National Club proposes the establishment of the following provinces—on a historical rather than on a practical basis: Serbia and Macedonia, Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Medjumurje, Istria, with Islands and Montenegro. They would give large legislative authority to the Provincial Legislatures, leaving to the Central Parliament only foreign affairs, currency, part of the finances, army, Post Offices and Federal administration. Schools and matters of public health, for instance, would go to the provinces.

Mr. Protitch, the former Prime Minister, who as a result of the difference of opinions resigned his seat in the Assembly, was prepared to make greater concessions to the autonomist program; and in his draft proposed nine provinces instead of the more

than thirty of the Government version. In a pamphlet recently issued he defends his policy on the grounds that too drastic changes are inadvisable and that, at least in the beginning, historical creations must be somewhat respected. To those who point to the centralist Constitution of Italy as an example, he answers that the Italian administration is the slowest and most bureaucratic in Europe; and that bureaucracy as the outcome of centralism weakens the best nation and destroys independent thinking. He draws attention to the example of England, where the limits of the historic counties have not been changed for 700 years.

The answer that might be made to the esteemed veteran statesman is that fundamental conditions in England, or even in the United States, are different from those governing the Constitution and safety of the countries of Central Europe, which are surrounded by hostile nations and naturally need a greater amount of centralism to protect them against aggression in peace or war and to insure their permanent prosperity. On the other hand, also the Democrats, as the most pronounced exponents of so-called centralism, admit that their policies cannot be ruthlessly carried into effect, and that centralized administration must be consistent with a large amount of self-government.

As a matter of fact, there is among the leading men less difference of opinion than of programs, and perhaps too much insistence on words and political theories. The common people know that the real character of a Constitution depends on its future working, on the men to whose care it will be entrusted and on the national spirit which not even the best laws can command.

In the course of time such differences, as today seem hardly surmountable, will fade away and lose practical interest in the eyes of a new generation, which will be confronted by hundreds of other pressing problems that will have to be solved by the Yugoslav Nation in the process of realizing that social, cultural and economic growth and unity for which its people have fought and suffered.

BULGARIA'S CRIMES AGAINST SERBIA

Why Serbians have no sympathy with the Bulgarian plea for easier treaty terms—Statement of a correspondent who witnessed the effects of Bulgarian occupation during the World War

To the Editor of Current History:

THE plea for Bulgaria made by P. M. Mattheeff in the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* is correctly described in the headline as a "passionate" protest. This it certainly is, and in his case passion seems to have completely obscured reason. It is an example of special pleading, an appeal *pro domo sua*, which could not deceive any student of Balkan politics who had even an elementary knowledge of the facts.

M. Mattheeff's point of view is indicated in his opening sentence, in which he refers to Bulgaria as the State which "led" the other allies in the Balkan war of 1912. There was no question of leadership in that war. Greece and Serbia came into it as the allies and equals of Bulgaria, not as vassal States following a superior. Later developments, however, showed that Bulgaria intended to make them such, and it is curious that at this late hour the impression of Bulgaria's "leadership" should still persist in M. Mattheeff's mind. He seems to forget the fact that Bulgaria, far from "leading," was unable to finish up her share of the war on her own territory by the capture of Adrianople, until the Serbs sent down their heavy artillery to break the Turkish resistance.

If one were to adopt M. Mattheeff's point of view, one would regard the Bulgarians as a brave and loyal people, led astray by their wicked King and forced by him to oppose the Allies in the World War. This is the argument employed *ad nauseam* by the Bulgarians and their supporters in other countries.

But what are the facts? To obtain these we must examine Bulgaria's record. This begins with the treason of 1913. In 1912 the Balkan States achieved what had long been regarded as impossible—the formation of a league against the common enemy,

Turkey. In September of that year they mobilized their forces and declared war on the Sultan. By May, 1913, they had won a complete victory. Turkey was practically driven out of the Balkans, the allies seizing all her territory right up to Tchataldja, a few short miles from Constantinople.

This success was not received with unmixed satisfaction by all the great powers. Germany and Austria saw their dream of the domination of the Balkans shattered by the interposition of a Confederation of Balkan States. They saw that it would have to be broken up. They at once began to intrigue, to sow dissension among the Balkan allies by awakening appetites and desires which could be realized only at the expense of the common peace.

They found a favorable terrain at Sofia. The Bulgarian nation, intoxicated by its victory, lent a willing ear to the insidious counsels of the Ballplatz, and put forward excessive claims for territorial concessions in the conquered Turkish Provinces. These were resisted by the Serbs, who took their stand on the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance, in which the main principles of the division of the conquered territory had already been laid down. It was further provided in that treaty that in case of disagreement the points in dispute should be submitted to the arbitration of the Czar of Russia, whose decision both sides agreed to accept.

BETRAYAL OF HER ALLIES

It soon became clear that Bulgaria had no intention of fulfilling this part of her treaty obligations. During the negotiations her representatives raised difficulty after difficulty. All this time she was secretly massing her troops so as to be in a position of superiority, should there be an appeal to armed force.

Then came the crowning act of treason.

During the night of June 29-30, 1913, the Bulgarian Army, without the slightest warning, made a sudden attack on its Serbian and Greek allies. Fortunately for Serbia, her soldiers come of a sturdy race, and, the first moment of surprise past, they defended themselves with vigor. The Bulgarians were driven from position after position. Bulgaria's difficulties became her enemies' opportunity. Rumania, which had long demanded a rectification of her frontier with Bulgaria and the cession of the Dobrudja Province, took advantage of her neighbor's embarrassments to press her claims, and when these were resisted she also mobilized her army, forcibly seized the province in dispute, and marched on Sofia. Turkey, too, seeing a chance of avenging at least a part of her defeat, invaded the territory she had just lost and recaptured Adrianople. Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace, and on Aug. 6, 1913, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed.

That Bulgaria was forced to sign the Treaty of Bucharest was nobody's fault but her own. It was the direct result of her disgraceful act of treachery against her allies. But this M. Mattheeff does not admit, and he informs us that "Bulgaria's joining the Central Powers was an unavoidable consequence" of this treaty.

Such was Bulgaria's first act of treason, for which she paid by losing nearly all the fruits of her victory against the Turks. Her second act of treachery had much more terrible consequences. In 1913 she alone suffered for her crimes. In 1915 all Europe was a victim of her treason.

In the Spring of that year the World War had reached its most crucial point, and Germany and Austria had been driven on the defensive. A ring of trenches, such as the world had never before seen, ran from the North Sea to the Adriatic, and from the Adriatic to the Baltic. The Central Powers were completely surrounded by a circle of steel, on which bristled 10,000,000 bayonets. But Turkey had been brought into the war and had closed the Dardanelles, thereby completely isolating Russia from her allies. An allied army had been landed at Gallipoli, but was held in check by the Turkish Army. Turkey, however, being isolated in her turn, was in danger of collapse for want of munitions, which she could procure only from Germany. It was,

therefore, for Germany a life-and-death question to drive through the Balkans to join hands with her. This she could succeed in doing only if Bulgaria threw her weight into the scale against the Entente Powers. The fate of Europe came, therefore, to Sofia for decision. If Bulgaria joined the Entente and marched on Constantinople, the end of the war was in sight. If she betrayed the Allies and turned against them, their plight became a desperate one.

And Bulgaria committed a fresh act of treason. She joined the Central Powers. But this she kept secret to the last moment. Acting on instructions from Berlin, M. Radoslavoff, the Bulgarian Premier, assured the Entente Powers that Bulgaria was coming in on their side. Even when she mobilized her army she gave London, Paris and Petrograd to understand that this was done to resist, not to aid, Germany. It was only when Germany had completed her preparations for the attack on Serbia that Bulgaria threw off the mask and hurled her forces against Serbia's eastern frontier. No more cynical act of treachery is recorded in history than Bulgaria's action vis-à-vis the Entente. As a direct result of it hundreds of thousands of French, British, Russian, Italian and American soldiers are lying dead in Europe today. Bulgaria saved Germany from destruction in 1915 and prolonged the war by three years. This the world may one day forgive, if the criminal shows sincere repentance, but it can never forget it.

M. Mattheeff declares: "Bulgaria failed because she blundered in choosing sides. The conquerors have declared that in doing so Bulgaria transgressed. So be it! But is there no limit to the punishment for such transgression?"

CRIMES DURING OCCUPATION

The limit of punishment is generally measured by the repentance of the criminal. But Bulgaria has not only the perfidy and treason of her Government on her conscience. She has three years of nameless cruelty and oppression in occupied Serbia to answer for. I maintain, without fear of disproof, that the Bulgarian people deliberately started out to exterminate a whole race. Serbia was swept clean of everything portable — plows, harrows, agricultural

implements, cattle, horses, sheep, household furniture—in a word, everything that could be taken was appropriated and the people left to starve. Thousands were murdered in cold blood. The National Library in Belgrade was carried off to Sofia and its priceless volumes and manuscripts reduced to pulp. Every book in Serbian that could be found was destroyed, Serbian schools and churches were replaced by Bulgarian ones, priests and teachers were taken off to starve to death in concentration camps. Railway locomotives and rolling stock were carried off wholesale.

I do not state these things from hearsay. After the Bulgarian Army was driven from Serbian Macedonia I rode with Professor Reiss of Lausanne University from one Serbian village to another, only to hear the same monotonous tale of murder, rape, incendiarism and plunder. Priests and teachers had been hanged and shot and hundreds of peasants deported. War, I know, always brings horror in its train, but in no other part of Europe were such atrocities committed as in that part of Serbia under Bulgarian occupation. In the circumstances, as long as human nature is what it is, the fact that "the Serbian mind is poisoned against everything Bulgarian" may excite surprise in the mind of M. Mattheeff, but

I doubt if his feelings will be generally shared.

But hardly was the armistice signed than Bulgaria began to flood Europe with appeals in *miser cordia*, declaring that she was more sinned against than sinning. Justice, I know, should be passionless, not vindictive. But in view of Bulgaria's crimes and treasons there is no measure of reparation in the Treaty of Neuilly that is not justly due.

Instead of acknowledging this the Bulgarians imitate their former allies in their attempts to evade fulfillment of the treaty obligations. M. Mattheeff complains that the institution of obligatory personal labor—in lieu of obligatory military service—has been objected to by the Belgrade Government, and that at its request the Supreme Council of the Allies has demanded the repeal of the law. But M. Mattheeff omits to state that the Belgrade Government has proof that the so-called labor recruits have been lodged in barracks, have been clothed in uniform and are subjected to military drill. In other words, it is not a labor organization, but merely a camouflaged military force.

GORDON CORDON-SMITH.

Washington, D. C., May 17, 1921.

ALBANIA'S CONFLICT WITH SERBIA*

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Official Albanian reports announce that the Serbian authorities are deporting great masses of the Albanians of Kosova, with a view to populating this region with Russian refugees. In order to explain this unlawful measure it will be necessary to throw some light on recent Serbo-Albanian relations, as well as to sketch the sufferings of the people of Kosova and Dibra, who, by the decisions of the London Conference of 1913, were separated from their mother country, Albania, and were ceded to Serbia and Montenegro as the result of diplomatic compromises.

By Aug. 20, 1920, just after the difficulties between the Italians and Albanians were done away with, the Albanian Government was confronted with a new trouble, namely, the conflict with Serbia. Ever

since the armistice, the Serbs had been occupying territory belonging to political Albania, i. e., the Albania of 1913, which lay in both the Scutari and the Dibra regions, in North and Northeastern Albania. Encouraged by the peaceful attitude of the Albanians, and dissatisfied with the strip of Albanian territory already under their control, the Serbs were making daily inroads into the interior of Albania. In both the Scutari and Dibra districts, however, they were repulsed with great success by the people; the Albanian Government had no part in this situation. The people of the Dibra region finally drove the Serbian sol-

*Mr. A. B. Sula, the writer of this letter, is an Albanian graduate of Robert College, Constantinople, and until recently was Chief Clerk of the Albanian Ministry of the Interior. He came to this country on the advice of the Albanian Government to prepare himself for a diplomatic career in his home land.—EDITOR.

diers back to the boundary of 1913, and even forced the evacuation of the City of Dibra itself. The Albanians did not attempt to occupy this city, although not a single Serb lives there, in view of the fact that it was assigned to Serbia by the London Conference of 1913, and also through fear that some undesirable international complications might arise.

The Albanians supposed that as a result of their wise and moderate policy they would be left alone to live a prosperous and independent life. This, however, was not the plan of the Serbs, who returned with a huge army, passed the Albanian frontiers near Dibra, and laid waste 142 Albanian villages, massacring the unfortunate population—women, children and old men—who were not able to flee with the rest of the inhabitants of the devastated region. (This has been confirmed by the Serbian press.) After having completed this carnage, which is beyond any description, the Serbs marched toward the Albanian capital and attempted to threaten the Albanian Government. Thanks to the patriotic efforts displayed by the whole Albanian people, the advance of the Serbs toward the Albanian capital was checked.

The Albanian Government shortly after this entered into negotiations with the Serbian Government. The parleys, however, led to no result, because the Serbs did not want to evacuate the territory they had lately invaded, and so a deadlock in Serbo-Albanian relations followed. The Albanian Government has recently sent an official note to Belgrade asking the evacuation of the strip of Albanian territory which ever since the armistice has been under Serbian occupation, giving notice that, in case Serbia fails to comply with this demand, the matter will be submitted to the League of Nations, of which both parties are members. Furthermore, the Albanian Government has declared its intention to send a delegation to Belgrade, with a view to settling the matters in dispute between the two countries.

Not content with Kosova, Dibra and other territory which they are holding in their possession, together with almost one million unhappy Albanians, contrary to the principle of self-determination of nations, the Serbs are coveting even more Albanian territory. And how is this insatiable greed ex-

pressed? By laying waste the most flourishing localities, and by deporting or exterminating the Albanian population, which was living in these localities before any other Balkan nation had come into existence.

According to recent dispatches, which are also confirmed by the liberal Serbian Press, the Serbian atrocities and acts of oppression among the Albanians of Kosova and Dibra are increasing day by day; massacres and executions of every kind are committed by order of the Serbian authorities, without due process of law.

The Serbs, seeing clearly that they cannot assimilate the stout-hearted people of Kosova, Dibra, &c., have decided to annihilate them. This is the Serbian interpretation of the "self-determination of nations," and of the theory "The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples." The people of Dibra are to be especially pitied, inasmuch as this is the second time they have been reduced to such an extremity. Their first subjection came when they rose against the Serbs in 1914, in protest against the decisions of the London conference of 1913, which assigned to Serbia this entirely Albanian-populated city. Similar protests have been made by the Albanians of Kosova against the Serbian occupation, but their protests have brought them only persecution, deportation and extermination, and have made them subject to the maximum of obligations without even the minimum of privileges.

When Mr. Trumbitch was the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Serbia, he made certain semi-official declarations regarding the restoration to the Albanian State of some portions of the Kosova and Dibra territories, but since his resignation these declarations have been ignored. In addition to this, even more territory belonging to the Albanian State, as fixed by the London conference of 1913, is being held by the Serbs, who seem to have forgotten the fact that if the Albanians had not granted right of way to the Serbian army while it was being pursued by the Austro-Bulgarian armies the destiny of the present Serb-Croat-Slovene State would have been different. Mr. Pashitch, at least, who was an eye-witness of Albania's hospitality and her peace-abiding attitude toward the defeated Serbian army, ought not to maintain an unfavorable policy toward Albania.

A. B. SULA.

1907 F Street, Washington, D. C., May 23, 1921.

RUMANIA IN THE NEW EUROPE

To the Editor of Current History:

Under the above caption, Prince Antoine Bibesco, Rumanian Minister to the United States, in an article contributed to *CURRENT HISTORY* for May, has attempted to answer what he calls the anti-Rumanian propaganda in this country. This propaganda, according to Prince Bibesco, consists of the following accusations: that Rumania politically and culturally is a backward country, ruled by a corrupt oligarchy; that she oppresses racial minorities, such as the Jews and Magyars, and that she persecutes religious dissenters.

In reply to the first charge, Prince Bibesco asserts that it is not true. His basis for this denial is some agrarian reforms, recently introduced, which assign to the peasants 2,000,000 hectares of land, carved out of estates exceeding 500 hectares. Considering that Rumania before the war had a large peasant population without land of its own, and practically serfs to the Tchokois, or big landed proprietors, the recent agrarian reforms will no doubt bring a certain improvement in the hard lot of the peasants. Whether the reforms are such as to make Rumania a truly democratic country, like Serbia and Bulgaria, whose peasantry consists of small landowners, is another question. The annexation of Transylvania, Bukowina, the Banat and Bessarabia will most probably limit the power which the Rumanian aristocracy exerted upon the Government; but whether it will put a stop to the corrupt practices for which Rumanian administration has been, and is, notorious remains to be seen. This corruption evidently still exists. The proof of this is found in the quotations from a Rumanian newspaper, given on page 220 of the *CURRENT HISTORY* number in which Prince Bibesco's article is published. According to this newspaper, "boundless corruption" pervades the administration; no reconstruction work is done, and a Czech Ministerial Councilor is quoted as having declared that he was "constantly receiving incontrovertible testimony of acts disgraceful to Rumanian reputation." This is corroborated by the testimony of Charles H. Grasty, the well-

known correspondent of The New York Times, who, in a letter from Bucharest a few weeks ago, spoke of the prevalent "graft" system, so impudently practiced by officials both high and low.

In answer to the accusation that Rumania has oppressed racial minorities, such as the Jews and Magyars, Prince Bibesco points to the Rumanian laws insuring equal rights and equal legal treatment to all citizens. In confirmation of this he tells us that there is a chair for the Magyar language and history at the University of Bucharest, and that Magyar teachers receive from the Government higher salaries than Rumanian teachers do. In order to clinch the argument, he asserts that the political and social emancipation of the Rumanian Jews is complete.

Unfortunately for Prince Bibesco, we find again a complete disproof of his assertions in regard to the Magyars on page 220 of *CURRENT HISTORY* above referred to. There we are told that Magyar children are forced to attend Rumanian schools, especially "in the district of Csik, where there are 125,888 Magyars and only 18,032 Rumanians." In another district all public servants have been notified that if they send their children to Hungarian schools the act, "if persisted in, will render them liable to prosecution before the Military Court for treason." This, then, is the freedom and "equality of rights" enjoyed by a Magyar under Rumanian rule: he is to be tried by a court-martial if he dares to send his child to a Hungarian and not to a Rumanian school. If additional proof were wanted of how racial minorities are faring in Rumania, and how far Jews have really been emancipated, we may quote the following statements made by Paul Scott Mowrer in his recent book, "Balkanized Europe." Mowrer, for many years correspondent of The Chicago Daily News, writes from personal knowledge and investigation conducted during his travels through Europe. Speaking of Rumania and her new territorial acquisitions, he says (p. 226):

All the new provinces are under military occupation, and in all a strong hand is being used. Minorities, on one pretext or another, are being expropriated in favor of Ru-

manians. New and incompetent officials are making a reputation for themselves similar to that earned by the Northern "carpet-baggers" in the South, after the American Civil War. Arrests, expulsions and even disorders are not infrequent.

In regard to the law about the Jews, he says that it gives the right to vote and to own property to all Jews who can prove they were born in Rumania, and then he adds:

This is well enough for the more highly cultured Sephardic Jews of the old Spanish-speaking stock; but the majority of Rumanian Jews are of the Ashkenazic or Yiddish speaking German strain, who have fled into Rumania out of Russia and Poland, and many of whom have no family papers. A generation will have to elapse before they can take advantage of the somewhat equivocal reforms.

It is evidently too early yet to declare that "the political and social emancipation of the Rumanian Jews is complete," as Prince Bibesco affirms.

The testimony of independent and impartial writers about the status of racial minorities in Rumania, which I have cited, applies equally well to the condition of the Bulgarians in Southern Dobrudja, who have been put under Rumanian rule by the Paris Peace Conference. In this province, where out of a total population of almost 275,000 inhabitants, the overwhelming majority of whom is composed of Bulgarians and Turks, with less than 7,000 Rumanians, the same Rumanian oppression obtains. Under one pretext or another, expropriations, arrests, expulsions, closing of schools and churches, and military and civil corruption are the order of the day. Those of your readers who remember how in 1913 Rumania, by stabbing Bulgaria in the back, obtained possession of Southern Dobrudja will certainly smile at Prince Bibesco's assertion that "Rumania has never since its foundation cherished plans of aggression." Is it possible that he is unaware of the fact that highly placed political men and eminent writers in Europe and elsewhere qualified Rumania's conduct in 1913 as "an act of robbery and brigandage"?

Prince Bibesco concludes his article with the boast that "Rumania stands out as a European outpost of Westernism, amid surroundings sunk back to a barbarian level." If by "Westernism" he means a veneer of civilization, the introduction of luxury and dissipation and the spread of vice and immorality, Rumania certainly leads the way among nations of the Near East. Its capital, Bucharest, has long since prided itself on being "Little Paris," and in some social respects it goes ahead of Paris. If, however, by "Westernism" he means culture, education, purity of family life and social morality, a Rumanian should be the last man to throw stones at his neighbors. In the matter of popular education, for example, Bulgaria in 1910 occupied by the literacy of the army recruits the tenth place among the European powers, standing ahead of Hungary, Italy and Russia, and in the first place among the Balkan States. Three years later only 5 per cent. of the recruits in Bulgaria were illiterate, while in Rumania and Greece the proportion was 41 per cent. and 30 per cent., respectively. In 1914 illiteracy among the non-Moslem population of Bulgaria was 35 per cent., in Rumania 65 per cent., in Serbia 63 per cent., in Greece 57 per cent. The number of pupils per 1,000 inhabitants in Bulgaria in 1908 was 121, in Rumania 88, in Serbia 51; in Greece from 1910-11 it was 116. Bulgaria has one school to every 788 inhabitants, Greece to 691, Rumania to 1,291, Serbia to 2,065. These figures are more remarkable when one takes into consideration that Rumania has always been more or less a country possessing home rule, while Serbia and Greece had already been self-governed countries for half a century before Bulgaria in 1879 began its political life, untrammelled by the shackles of Turkish misrule and tyranny.

Such, in brief, is the moral and cultural status of Rumania today.

THEODORE VLADIMIROFF.

Philadelphia, Pa., May 7, 1921.

KORFANTY AND THE SILESIAN PLEBISCITE

To the Editor of Current History:

In the June issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* I note, in the article entitled "The Silesian Crisis and Korfanty," a number of inaccurate statements, to which I am sure you will appreciate having your attention called.

In the summary printed in italics (Page 389) you speak of an "invasion of armed Polish bands, under Polish agitator." The word "invasion" is borne out in the context by the following sentence: "The irruption across the Polish frontier into Silesia of a large Polish force, directed by Adalbert Korfanty." Korfanty's uprising was one of native elements under a native leader, and there was no invasion or irruption of any kind. Indeed, later on you speak of the general strike declared early in May by "the Polish workmen who form the population of the mining districts of Rybnik and Pless. This was followed by news that lawless Polish bands had appeared and were terrorizing the country. These uprisings * * *." The strike, which you speak of as having occurred "early in May," was really the beginning of the uprising, and the talk of "lawless Polish bands" was the German description of the Polish native insurgents.

Elsewhere you speak of the result of the plebiscite as "a victory for the Germans. Fully two-thirds of the districts had elected to remain with Germany." The result of the plebiscite, according to the Peace Treaty (Article 88), was to be determined by communes, and it was the wishes of the "inhabitants" that were to be taken into consideration. Whether the very technical interpretation of the Peace Treaty, which allowed imported outvoters to vote on equal terms with the resident natives, was a fair one may be a matter of opinion. I do wish, however, to point out that the figures as ultimately announced gave a total vote for Germany of 716,408 and for Poland of 471,-

406 (New York Times, March 23, 1921). I think you will see these figures are far from giving Germany two-thirds of the total vote cast in the plebiscite. What is more, in the total counted for Germany are included some 65,000 votes cast in Leobschutz, a district which was to decide its allegiance as between Germany and Czechoslovakia, and not between Germany and Poland. In that district only 300 voted for Czechoslovakia. How these 65,000 votes can possibly be counted as for Germany against Poland I am not able to understand.

The result was to be computed by communes, and you will see from the Peace Treaty (Article 88) that there was to be a partition of Silesia according to the results of the plebiscite. As a matter of history, you probably know that Germany insists on the indivisibility of Upper Silesia, contrary to the provisions of the treaty. From the point of view of the interpretation of the treaty, it appears to be a matter of little concern who got the majority of the total vote (including the emigrant voters, who, by the way, were told to clear out by the 15th of April under the threat of arrest or fine), and therefore, even apart from the actual majority in the total plebiscite area, it cannot be said with historic correctness that "the result * * * was a victory for the Germans."

Fully realizing the importance of *CURRENT HISTORY* as a record of present-day events and of their background, I have no doubt, in view of the scholarly liking for accuracy and the general tone of fairness which characterizes your magazine, that you will prefer to have your attention drawn to anything which will, I believe, not be to the future historian true and explainable facts.

LUDWIK EHRLICH, Director.

Polish Bureau of Information, 40 West Fortieth Street, New York, June 2, 1921.



LORD READING'S ENEMIES IN INDIA

How Mr. Gandhi and his Moslem ally, Mohammed Ali, are working against British rule, supplementing open sedition with secret and subtle propaganda—The new Viceroy's gigantic task

LORD READING, the new Viceroy to India, attacked his formidable task with an act that was bound to have a clarifying effect. He had a long talk on May 13 with Mr. Gandhi, the head and front of the nationalist movement that is trying to overthrow British rule in India. He listened to Gandhi's views with the deepest attention, and in return set forth his own policy. What went on between the Hindu mahatma and the man who was formerly the Supreme Justice of England has not yet been told, but that it was a momentous interview there can be no question. The mystical Gandhi, however, represents only the Hindus; the Mohammedans also must be reckoned with. Mohammed Ali, the Moslem leader, is preaching the doctrine of his prophet and namesake—the verdict of the sword. The bold disloyalty of his utterances is sufficiently illustrated by a recent speech at Madras.

We have been made slaves once [said Mohammed Ali]; we do not want to be made slaves again; but if the Emir of Kabul does not enslave India, and does not want to subjugate the people of India, who have never done any harm, and who do not mean to do the slightest harm to the people of Afghanistan or elsewhere, and if he comes to fight against those who have always had an eye on his country, who wanted to subjugate his people, who hold the holy places of Islam, who want to crush Islam in their hostile grip, who want to destroy the Moslem faith, and who are bent on destroying the Khalifate, then not only shall we assist, but it will be our duty and the duty of every man who calls himself a Mussulman to gird up his loins and fight the good fight of Islam.

The truth seems to be, judging from Mohammed Ali's own words on various occasions, that he does not feel certain what attitude Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operators would take in the event of another Afghan invasion. At Allahabad he asserted that no non-co-operator would ever desire an Afghan invasion. It was better, he said, to remain in hell than to go to heaven with the aid of a foreign power, but if any foreign power waged war to make India free, the

non-co-operators would not render any aid to the Government, but would simply watch the fight. He denied that he had had correspondence with the Emir of Afghanistan. Mohammed Ali further declared that if the people of India followed the advice of Mr. Gandhi they would have freedom and home rule within a year.

Despite the favorable opening of the new Indian Legislature at Delhi, and the attitude of the new Indian members, who came out for election in defiance of the Gandhi orders, and who, during their short tenure of office, have shown an amazing moderation and desire to co-operate with the British members, sedition flames through the land—sedition skillfully and shrewdly disseminated. The Indian agitators are no tyros. To that Lord Chelmsford, the predecessor of Lord Reading, testified on May 20 in a public address in London, when he said:

It is common knowledge that there has been for many years considerable political agitation in India. It is equally well known that the Indian political agitator has little to learn with regard to methods of agitation. He has drunk deeply from the experience of agitators, whether in England or in Ireland, and he has not been unmindful of the greater subtleties of women agitators, and these methods have been applied with great skill in India. The aim has been to create discontent with British rule, and to bring discredit on the Government of India, and it is not always easy for the Government to know how to deal with the subtle methods that are adopted. I recollect that shortly before the Duke of Connaught's visit I was anxious that the people of Delhi should see the fort and palace illuminated, with the fountains playing, and I directed that it should be opened at a low fee. For two or three days the people went in by thousands; then one day not a soul came, and I found that the rumor had been spread abroad that a thousand women had gone into the fort and not one had come out again. But when, later, the people of Delhi found that none of their relatives were missing, they returned in their hundreds. The aim of the agitator was to get people to refuse the gifts that the Government offered.

How will the new Viceroy deal with the skillful propaganda of rebellion that en-

velops him night and day? The Afghanistan danger is real, as the explanations made before the new Legislature in connection with the large budget eloquently admitted. Afghanistan has made a treaty of alliance with Moscow, and the Emir, heartened by the Bolshevik agitators who are everywhere in Afghanistan, is making defiant and impossible demands. The economic unrest of India is great, and many strikes testify to the strength of the Gandhi-Mohammed Ali propaganda. The poverty of the people; the discontent of the Indian merchants, who faced bankruptcy, owing to the worldwide commercial stagnation that has followed the war; the old religious racial hatreds—all these are being fused by a magnetic leader into one united revolt against the Government of the British, and their "satanic" civilization, which must be destroyed to enable the people to revert to the primitive ways of the old Vedas and the simple, homely, free and idyllic life which underlay them. This is the teaching which the Hindu people are absorbing rapidly, and to this the Moslem agitators are adding the menace of the sword. What will be the outcome of it all?

How much of Gandhi's teachings have contributed to the results of the March census, which show an amazingly small increase in population since the last census, it is impossible to determine. The figures show that during the decade 1911-1921 the population of the country, including both British India and the native States, increased only from 315,150,000 to 319,000,000—or at a rate of only 1.27 per cent. for the whole decade. The increases noted since 1872 had been on an ever-rising scale, and even between 1901 and 1911, when the census area was approaching fixity, the increase was 7.1 per cent. It was generally believed that the census just taken would show a population of at least 340,000,000. The influenza plague of 1918, which took a toll of approximately 6,000,000 people, should be duly considered. It is also stated that the method of taking the census was defective, the census takers being arbitrarily assigned their task, with no pay. It should not be forgotten, however, that Gandhi has carried his fanatic teaching so far as to forbid his followers to have children until India has gained independence.

IN DEFENSE OF KING CONSTANTINE

To the Editor of Current History:

I have been very much interested in reading the article in your May issue on "What the Greeks Are Fighting For." I am writing at once to express my appreciation of it and of the attitude you have taken in presenting the true side of the Greek question, even though that side is the unpopular side in this country. I am myself a Greek, and as such have more closely at heart the interests of Greece—with a more thorough knowledge of the conditions existing there—than the American press can have. Therefore I am rejoiced to see this fair and scholarly presentation of the situation in my country.

I hope that this article may do much toward disabusing the minds of the American public of the utterly false idea that King Constantine is or ever was pro-German. He was not. If he was not pro-German, however, it was not because of

anything the Allies did, as any Greek knows who is familiar with the intimate facts of Greek politics during the early years of the war, and who is not blinded by personal devotion to Venizelos; for the allied powers continually antagonized him and forced him into a friendship with his brother-in-law, the Kaiser, which he did not feel.

And why cannot the American public be persuaded of King Constantine's entire devotion and loyalty to his country and his people by the results of the November elections? Who is to judge whether Constantine is the well-beloved of his people, if it is not the Greek people themselves? And the overwhelming majority which was returned for him at the polls should be a proof to the American public that they have been fed on propaganda when they have been assured that Constantine is the arch enemy of the Greek people. I wish that

your article, or Mr. Hibben's article, to be exact, had said even more about this. I want the American people to understand and believe it.

I, and I am sure all Americans and Greeks who have seen this article, will read your magazine with increased interest and confidence now that we have seen that you

dared to print what is the real truth. Captain Paxton Hibben's disinterested and high-minded friendship for Greece is, of course, known to all Greeks, and you are fortunate to have had one so well informed to write the article for you.

D. J. THEOPHILATOS.

59 Pearl Street, New York, May 31, 1921.

WHAT JAPAN IS DOING TO CHINA

To the Editor of Current History:

I have read with great interest the article by Sidney C. Graves, entitled "Japanese Aggression in Siberia," which appeared in the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. As indicated by this writer, Manchuria is almost entirely dominated by the Japanese.

The interpretation of Japan's activities in China is comparatively easy for those who know what is actually occurring on the other side of the Pacific. Prominent men of various nationalities, who have a firsthand knowledge of both China and Japan, have repeatedly called the attention of the world to those activities. And yet, as a whole, Japan may plume herself on having blinded the great powers, as well as the smaller nations of the world, to her aggressive and unlawful conduct in the Orient. What she has overlooked is that the time is bound to come when the world will know and understand her better. She has also failed to learn the great lesson of the war and has continued her wrongful and imperialistic policy, oblivious to the fate that overtook German imperialism.

I should like to bring before your readers a few of the Japanese practices in China which I personally witnessed when I returned home in 1919. The more obvious cases of Japanese aggression—in Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Formosa and Shantung—the world now knows. But there are other misdeeds, of the greatest menace to China's future, which the world knows nothing about. A few of these are listed below:

THE OPIUM TRAFFIC

China has suffered greatly from the opium scourge, and has officially done away with it. The Japanese, however, who, so far as human words hold, have claimed to be China's friends, are doing all they can to

keep the opium traffic alive. Taking advantage of the extra-territorial rights of foreigners in China, Japan has assured her nationals in China protection in carrying on the traffic on a large scale. That traffic is in full swing today in certain provinces, in Foochow and other cities of Manchuria and Mongolia. Japanese steamship lines, and even the Post Offices, are used for the transmission of the drug, which is sold on guaranteed delivery. I may refer in passing to the scarcity concealed maintenance of Japanese opium-smoking houses.

[Mr. Pelham Hung, editor of the Peking and Tientsin Times, while attending in Tokio a conference of Chinese and Japanese journalists held in April, declared in a public interview with the representative of the Kokusai that "97 per cent. of the morphine smugglers in China are Japanese subjects." To suppress this nefarious trade, said Mr. Hung, was China's greatest need today. "I believe," he added, "that the majority of the Japanese people are ignorant that their countrymen are largely responsible for the business that is ruining the bodies and souls of over 100,000 Chinese men, women and children every year. Their officials, however, cannot pretend ignorance. * * * A Sino-Japanese entente can never come until Japanese nationals stop smuggling morphine." Mr. Hung recalled the fact that the Japanese Consul General in Tientsin promised in 1919 to "punish severely all Japanese nationals found engaged in this vile trade," but "today matters are as bad as when the promise was first given." Though Mr. Hung did not charge that the Japanese authorities officially encouraged the traffic, he showed clearly that they tolerated it. Great Britain, he pointed out, forbade the exportation of opium to China in 1917, and neither the British nor other European countries are now indulging in the sale of opium or other narcotics in China.—EDITOR.]

GAMBLING AND PROSTITUTION

Gambling, like opium smoking, is penalized by law, but one who has been in China,

especially in the regions referred to above, has seen many gambling houses openly doing business along the city streets. Foreigners believe that these houses are run by Chinese. If one will only take the trouble to pause and gaze upward at the sign, one will see the words, "Japanese merchant." This means that, alike in the case of opium smoking and gambling, the Chinese authorities have no right of entrance and search without previously notifying the Japanese Consul. If, finally, a search is decided on, it must be undertaken jointly. It is well known to the Chinese that, when such raids are planned, the Japanese engaged in such nefarious business are almost always warned from the consulate before the police reach the field of operations.

The Japanese also take advantage of poor Chinese who are in need of ready money to make small loans at a good profit. The Japanese lender requires no security, but depends wholly on the support of the Japanese Consul to collect his money. Only those who have seen the Japanese process of collection know what this means.

Wherever there are Japanese, there is Japanese prostitution, which is not only encouraged but legalized by the Japanese Government. The extension of the system to China is but a part of the deliberate Japanese policy to ruin, both physically and morally, the nations with which they are brought into close contact. This deliberate policy will have the most serious consequences in Korea.

The law of China prohibits the sale of arms and munitions to individuals or to private concerns. Yet in various places one always sees armed bands of rebels roaming about, bearing modern rifles and making trouble for the good citizens of China. Such arms and munitions come from Japan, the only country in the world at present which undertakes to endanger the peace of other nations, the only country which has no sense of international law.

JAPANESE "NAME-LETTING"

"Name-letting" is something of which Americans have no knowledge, and I have been unable to find any one who has not lived in China who has ever heard of it. The merit of this invention belongs wholly to the Japanese. In the last few years, China has increased her taxes, and these have become a heavy burden to the people. Some of the lower class, who lack a sense of nationalism, seek to avoid the payment of these taxes. This is where the "always-ready-to-be-your-friend" Japanese comes in and says: "Let us list your business and property under our own name, collecting therefor a commission far smaller in amount than the sum which you will have to pay to the tax officials." Undoubtedly the Japanese by this device have aided many of the poorer class to dodge their taxes. The consequences of this business have sometimes been disastrous for the Chinese, for in some cases the Japanese "name-lender" flees to escape his accumulated debts; the Japanese Consul then steps in and takes possession of all goods listed under the said debtor's name, regardless of their true ownership.

The arbitrary character of the Japanese is seen in the matter of the Chinese boycott of all Japanese goods. The Chinese people, in view of the Shantung award particularly, will not buy Japanese manufactures of any kind. The Chinese authorities cannot force the Chinese people to buy, and yet the Japanese dare to demand that these authorities, whom they deem responsible, shall be dismissed! How do the Japanese know that the Chinese public does not like American or English goods better?

I have given above only a few examples of what the Japanese are doing in China. As to what Japan is doing through diplomatic channels, the world is informed daily through the press. Whatever the field, the Japanese policy never changes.

GARDNER KUOPING LIU.

University of Chicago, May 11, 1921.

GERMANY'S TRADE TREATY WITH RUSSIA

THE Russian Soviet Government, after successfully concluding its negotiations for a trade agreement with Great Britain, bent all its efforts to obtaining a similar agreement with Germany, a country considered by Leonid Krassin, the London negotiator, as even more important. The discussions were long protracted, and it was not until May 6 that the German and Bolshevik representatives in Berlin succeeded in bringing the negotiations to a satisfactory end.

This agreement, though only preliminary, indicated a mutual desire to establish solid economic and political relations between the two countries. It was signed for Germany by Gustav Behrendt and Freiherr (Baron) von Maltzen; for Soviet Russia by Aaron Scheinmann and M. Gans. The compact

gave full diplomatic immunity to the respective political and trade delegations to be exchanged, as well as the full consular powers necessary to legalize contracts and facilitate business; granted to merchant ships of either party the usual privileges relative to territorial waters, and authorized the reopening of all radio, telegraph and postal communications. Each delegation was empowered to protect the rights of war prisoners and interned civilians and to facilitate the departure of its nationals from the other country. Both parties bound themselves not to permit their respective delegations to conduct propaganda while resident in the other country.

The full text of this agreement, translated into English from the Prager Press of May 10, is as follows:

TEXT: OF THE AGREEMENT

The German Government and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, moved by the desire to serve the cause of peace between Germany and Russia and to promote the prosperity of both peoples in mutual good-will, conclude the following provisional agreement:

ARTICLE 1—The sphere of activity of the Delegations for the Care of Prisoners of War already existing shall be enlarged so that they may be entrusted with the duty of protecting the interests of all their nationals. Trade Delegations shall be attached to both these Delegations, in order to promote economic relations between their countries. Until normal relations are fully restored, the Delegations shall be known as "The German Delegation in Russia" and "The Delegation of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic in Germany." The Delegations shall have their headquarters in Moscow and Berlin respectively. The Delegation of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic in Germany shall be regarded as the only body representing the Russian State in Germany.

ARTICLE 2—The head of the Delegation shall enjoy the privileges and immunities of the principals of accredited missions. Until otherwise agreed, seven members of the Delegation shall further enjoy the privileges and immunities of members of accredited Missions, in so far as they are not citizens of the State in which they are residing.

With regard to those persons employed in

the Delegations who are not citizens of the State in which they are residing, both Governments engage to take such steps as will be necessary to ensure:

1. That their houses shall be searched only after the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the State in which they are residing has been given notice, and in so far as delay does not involve risk, in the presence of a representative of that authority and a representative of the Delegation.

2. That cases of imprisonment and arrest shall be communicated immediately to the central authority for Foreign Affairs of the State where the persons concerned are residing, and that authority shall inform the head of the Delegation within a period not exceeding 24 hours after the imprisonment or arrest.

3. That these persons and the members of their families shall be exempt from all obligations to perform State labor of any kind, and from military service and all obligations connected with war.

ARTICLE 3—Each Government engages to secure suitable offices for the Delegation of the other party, and to see that the head and the personnel receive suitable living accommodation. They further engage to give every assistance in procuring the necessary materials for the work of the Delegation.

ARTICLE 4—The German Delegation in Rus-

sia shall be entitled to import free of tariff and duty the materials necessary to carry on its official duties and to keep its quarters in repair, as well as the food and other necessities required by the German personnel up to 40 kilograms per month per person. The import permit shall be issued by the Russian Delegation in the country of origin on production of a covering list which must be authenticated in Germany by the Foreign Office, and in other countries by the German representatives there.

ARTICLE 5—The heads of the delegations shall be accredited to the central authority for Foreign Affairs of the State where they are residing. The delegations shall deal with that authority, and in trade matters directly with the other central authorities as well.

ARTICLE 6—The Delegations shall be given the following consular powers:

1. To protect the interests of their nationals in accordance with the traditions of international law.

2. To issue passports, identification papers and visés.

3. To receive, certify and attest documents.

Both contracting parties engage to enter into immediate negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement concerning the keeping of a register of births, deaths and marriages, and data concerning marriage contracts.

ARTICLE 7—Each Delegation shall have the right to use the wireless stations and public postal facilities, to hold uninterrupted official communication with its Government, and with the representatives of its Government in other countries, either openly or in code, and further to communicate by courier in accordance with a special agreement.

ARTICLE 8—Until a treaty is concluded which shall determine on principle the rights of the citizens of both parties, the following provisions shall hold good:

1. The provisions of the agreement of April 19, 1920, the supplementary agreement of July 7, 1920, and the supplementary agreement of today's date shall apply to the Russian war prisoners and interned civilians in Germany. Otherwise Russian citizens in Germany shall be treated in respect to their persons and property in accordance with international law and the general laws of Germany.

2. German citizens within the territory of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic at the time of the conclusion of this agreement shall retain the rights stipulated in the supplementary agreement of today's date as former war prisoners or interned civilians.

3. To German citizens who go to the territory of the other party for trade purposes in accordance with this agreement and who comply with the passport regulations, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic guarantees the inviolability of their property, whether brought with them or acquired in Russia, in so far as it is acquired and used

in accordance with the special agreements made with the competent organs of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. Special letters of safe conduct from the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic shall ensure the inviolability of this property, except in so far as claims can be made against the holder of the letter of safe conduct on the ground of legal transactions into which he has entered with the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic after the conclusion of this agreement.

ARTICLE 9—The Russian Government shall permit persons who have been German citizens, but have lost their nationality, as well as their wives and children, to leave the country if it can be proved that this is for the purpose of emigrating to Germany.

ARTICLE 10—The German Government guarantees to Russian ships, and the Russian Government to German ships, in their respective territorial waters and ports, treatment in accordance with the usages of international law. In so far as Russian ships serving trade purposes are granted special privileges in the matter of shipping dues, in accordance with this stipulation, as ships belonging to the State, the Russian Government guarantees to grant similar privileges to German merchantmen. In every case, however, a ship belonging to either contracting party in the ports of the other party may be held liable for such charges as are directly connected with the said ship, such as, for example, harbor dues, cost of repairs, or claims for compensation in cases of collision.

ARTICLE 11—Both Governments shall immediately take all steps to make possible the speedy resumption of postal, telegraphic and wireless communication, and to guarantee these communications by means of special agreements.

ARTICLE 12—The German Delegation in Russia shall protect the economic interests of the German realm and its citizens through its trade delegation.

The Russian Trade Delegation in Germany, as the State Trade Bureau for legal transactions in German territory, shall be regarded as the legitimate representative of the Russian Government. The latter shall recognize as binding all legal transactions undertaken either by the head of the Delegation, or by the head of the Trade Delegation, or, finally, by any authorized agent of either of these.

ARTICLE 13—The Russian Government engages to include an arbitration clause in all legal contracts with German citizens, German firms and German juridical persons entered into upon the territory of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and of States united with it in a State scheme of imports and exports. In the case of legal contracts entered into in Germany and their economic results, the Russian Government shall submit to German law, and in the case of civil obligations to German courts and execution, but only in so far as the obligations in question arise from legal transactions entered into with German citizens,

German firms, and German juridical persons after the conclusion of this agreement. The right of the Russian Government to include the arbitration clause also in transactions concluded in Germany shall remain intact. Otherwise the property of the Russian Government in Germany shall enjoy the protection customary under international law. In particular it shall not be subject to German jurisdiction and execution in any cases other than those specified under Paragraph 1.

ARTICLE 14—Both Delegations shall be entitled to engage the experts necessary for the accomplishment of their economic duties. Requests for the admission of experts, to be accompanied by detailed explanations, shall be made by the central authority to the representatives of the other party, and shall be dealt with immediately.

ARTICLE 15—Both Delegations and the persons employed by them shall confine themselves in their activities strictly to the duties accorded them under this agreement. In particular they shall be under the obligation to refrain from any agitation or propaganda against the Government or State institutions of the country where they are residing.

ARTICLE 16—Until a future trade agreement

shall be concluded, this agreement shall form the basis of the economic relations between the two countries, and shall be interpreted in a spirit of reciprocal good-will with a view to the promotion of economic relations.

ARTICLE 17—This agreement shall come into force on the day on which it is signed. The agreement may be denounced by either side with three months' notice.

If the agreement, when denounced, shall not be replaced by another agreement, each of the contracting parties shall be entitled, after the expiration of the period of notice, to appoint a commission of five members in order to wind up the transactions already entered into. The members of this commission shall have the position of agents without diplomatic privileges, and shall complete the winding up of business within a period not exceeding six months after the expiration of this treaty.

For Germany,

GUSTAV BEHRENDT,
FREIHERR VON BALTZEN.

For Soviet Russia,

SCHEINMANN,
GANS.

Berlin, May 6, 1921.

WHY BUSINESS IS DEPRESSED

A SHORT but illuminating tabulation showing the comparative depreciation of European currencies since the war was given by Edward A. Filene, a Boston business man who has traveled over all Europe since the war, in an address delivered before the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches on May 18, 1921. Mr. Filene's aim was to show that one of the chief causes of business depression and unemployment in the United States was the country's inability to dispose of its surplus products, owing to Europe's great economic and financial distress. To obtain the food products and raw materials necessary for its existence, Europe must be granted long-term credits, said Mr. Filene. But, he pointed out, such credits could not be given until conditions in Europe were more or less permanently settled, and this demanded co-operation of the American Government with the Governments of the struggling countries of the Old World. To understand the state to which those countries have come financially, said Mr. Filene, one must survey the situation in figures:

At the rate of exchange on May 8, for instance [he said], compared with the normal value and in terms of our money, the quantity of food, or cotton, or copper, that could be bought here for \$100, cost

In England ... \$122.19	In Austria .. \$7,660.38
In France 233.02	In Germany 1,570.95
In Italy 375.85	In Poland .. 20,255.32
In Belgium ... 233.09	In Czechoslovakia 1,460.43

These figures speak for themselves. The desperate financial situation of Austria has been exposed by the Austrian Chancellor before the Supreme Council. The enormous depreciation shown for Poland has been explained by the Poles on the ground that the Germans, by refusing trade and by other devices, had deliberately forced down the value of the Polish mark for reasons of their own, prominent among which was the alleged wish to induce the Poles of Upper Silesia to abandon Poland and to vote for union with Germany. From this tabulation it is seen that although the financial situation of the Entente countries is unfavorable that of Germany and the new republic of Czechoslovakia is far worse, while Austria is facing bankruptcy and Poland stands on the verge of financial ruin.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF CURRENT EVENTS

[American Cartoon]

"There'll be only one pilot for this ship"



—New York Times.

[American Cartoon]

They'll have to cancel this driver's license



—Brooklyn Eagle.

A menacing feature has been introduced into the Upper Silesian problem by the activities of Polish irregular forces under Korfanty and the seizure of a number of important districts in advance of the decision of the Supreme Council. The Allied troops have been reinforced in an attempt to restore order.

[American Cartoon]

More Irritation than Lubrication



—San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoons]



Digging In

—Louisville Courier-Journal.

The extension of time given to the Germans by the Allies for acceptance of the allied terms on reparations and disarmament expired on May 12. By that time, after great difficulty, a German Cabinet headed by J. Wirth had been formed, and this Cabinet accepted the terms without modification. They call for reparations of about \$36,000,000,000.

An Old Song with a New Meaning

"Fast Stands and
Sure the Watch—
the Watch on the
Rhine!"

—© New York Tribune.

Apropos of the
firm stand taken by
the Allies, especially
France, on the sub-
ject of German repa-
rations.



[English Cartoon]

THE ALLIED MAYPOLE



—Passing Show, London.

German militarism has been largely shorn of its power by the provisions of the Peace Treaty. That treaty called for the reduction of the German army to 100,000 men. Efforts have been made, especially by Bavaria, to evade the provision by the maintenance of Home Guards that could easily be transformed into a formidable military force.

[Italian Cartoons]



—Il 420, Florence.

What the Fascisti Did to the Reds

Two years ago Red Revolution scorned attack. A year ago it began to totter, and this year's May elections showed the "granite" giant to be only a statue of chalk, after all.

Turkey Makes Constan- tine's Throne Still More Uncomfortable



—Il 420, Florence.

[American Cartoons]

"I Ain't the Man I Used to Be!"

The excess profits tax was for three years one of the chief reliances of the Government in raising money to meet its current needs. During that period prices were high, there was an orgy of spending and the profits of large corporations were beyond all precedent. Now, however, deflation is in full swing, the "consumers' strike" shows few signs of being broken, and the excess profits have so shrunk that the yield from the tax will be comparatively small.



—Dayton News.



—Los Angeles Times.

"He's Pulling Leather!"

The cost of living is steadily decreasing in the United States, although the reduction is more notable in wholesale than in retail lines. A recent report of the Federal Reserve Board emphasized the fact that, while from January to May there had been a reduction of 11 per cent. in the price of raw materials, there had been a reduction of only 3 per cent. to the consumer. The reluctance of the retailer to fall in line with the wholesaler is one of the most important factors hindering business revival.

[American Cartoon]

Now "Step On 'Er!"



—Tacoma News-Tribune.

The resumption of world trade and the opening of a new era of prosperity have been waiting on the settlement of the question of German reparations. Now that a definite sum has been stated by the Allies and agreed to by Germany, the greatest element of doubt has been removed, and the consensus of opinion among financiers is that a trade revival all over the world may be confidently expected.

[American Cartoons]



—N. Y. World.

Who Said 'Isolation?'

In response to an invitation by the Allied Governments, the United States Government on May 6 announced that it would participate in future Allied conferences, though "maintaining the traditional policy of abstention in matters of distinctly European concern."

Uncle Has an Interest in the Pot

—Central Press
Association.

The mandate assigned to Japan over Yap by the Supreme Council has stirred the United States to declare through Secretary Hughes that as a participant in the Allied victory this country claimed a voice in territorial mandates and did not recognize any decisions in that matter in which it had had no part.



[German Cartoons]

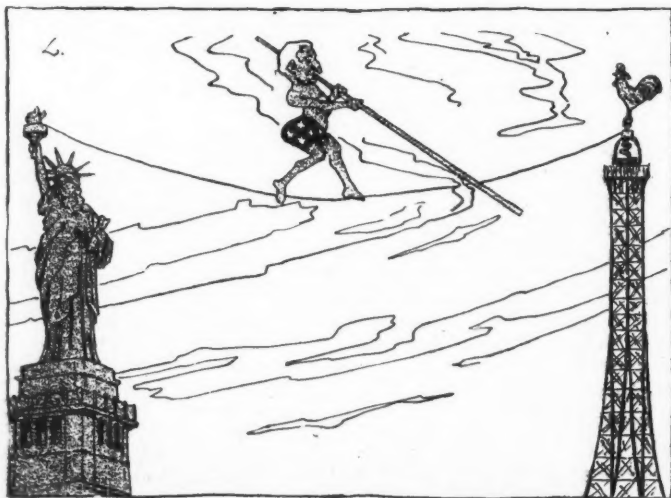


—Ulk, Berlin.

COUNT OTTAKAR (Harding): "Away, throw the monster (the League of Nations) into the abyss!" (Freischutz).

The Rope Dancer

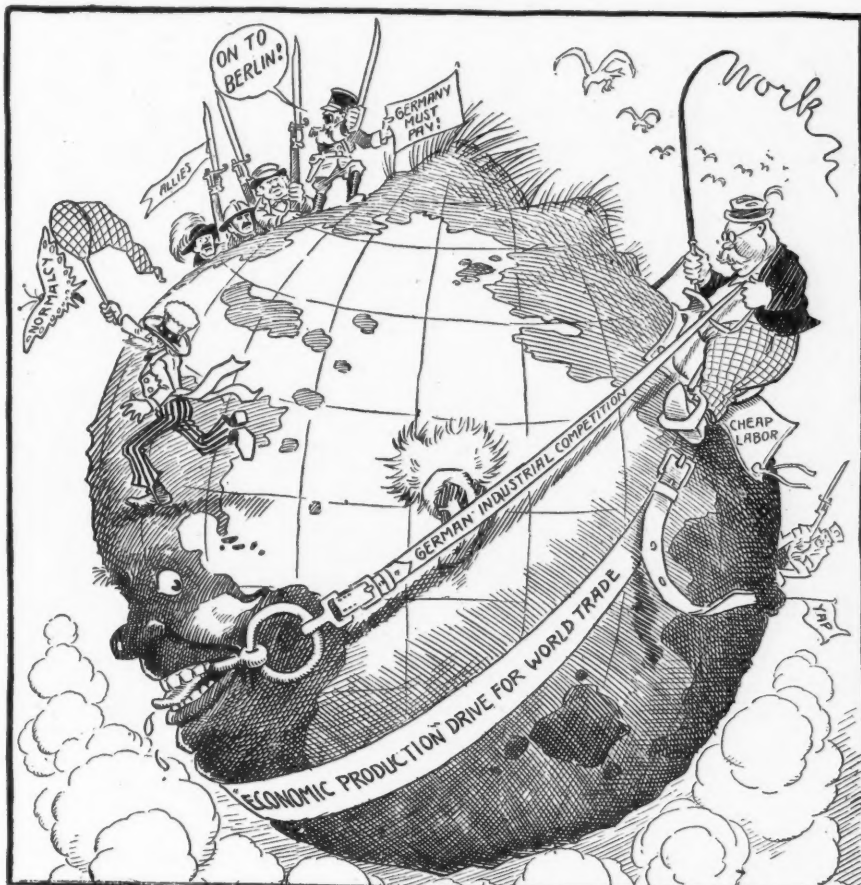
PRESIDENT HARDING:
"Confound it, between American Liberty and the Eiffel Tower top of French insanity, it is hard to preserve a balance."



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

[American Cartoons]

Future World Trade Situation



—Central Press Association, Cleveland.

As "Viewed With Alarm" by Schwab, the Steel King.

Deutschland's Over-Alls

"I'll have to hustle to pay those reparations."



—Sioux City Tribune.

[American Cartoons]

Just Count Him Out

Great Britain and France view the Silesian matter from different angles, and each would be glad to have the moral support of the United States, which, however, has remained steadily aloof.



—New York Evening Mail.



No Meddling in Foreign Muddles

So many domestic problems are pressing for solution in the United States that "America first" has become the policy of the present Administration. It has declined to take any official part in the settlement of the Silesian question, though Ambassador Harvey is to attend the meetings of the Supreme Council as an observer.

—Central Press Association,
Cleveland.



—New York Evening Mail.

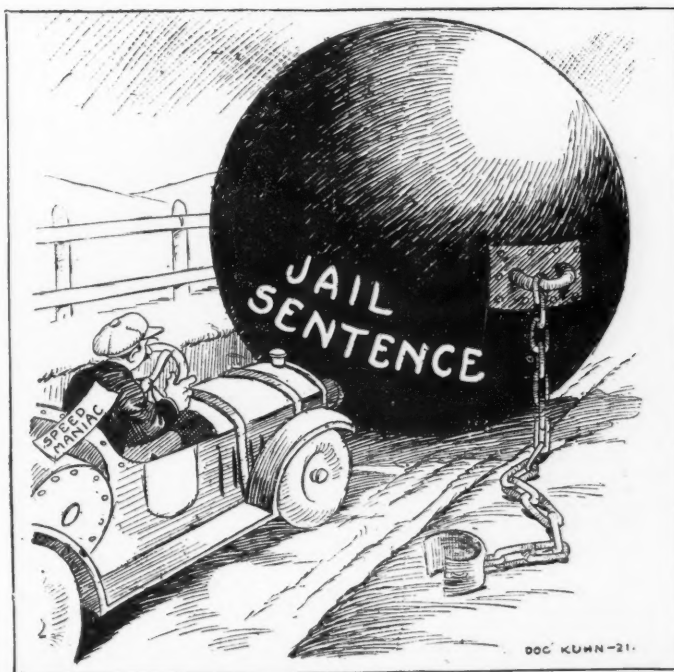
[American
Cartoons]

Oh, Yes— Has Teeth 'n Everything

At the time the prohibition law went into effect it was freely predicted that it would be rendered nugatory by public apathy or disapproval. Its enforcement has presented great difficulties, but many violators of the law have learned that it is not wise to defy it.

This Might Stop Him

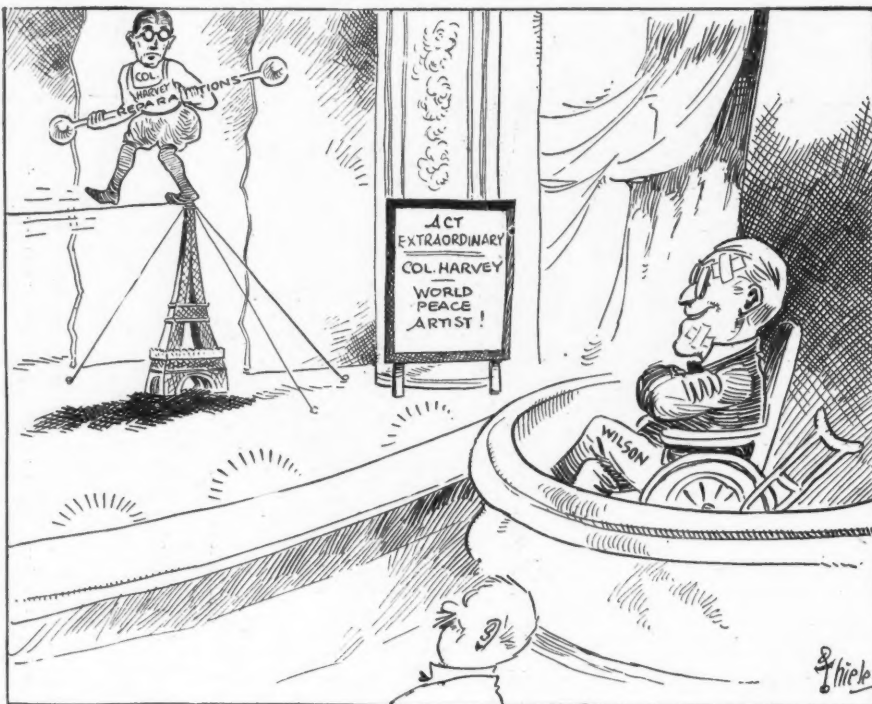
The alarming mortality due to automobile accidents has led to a general demand that the speed maniac shall receive jail sentences instead of fines. In the first eight months of 1920 about 500 were killed by autos in New York City alone.



—Rocky Mountain News, Denver.

[American Cartoons]

His Turn Now



—Sioux City Tribune.

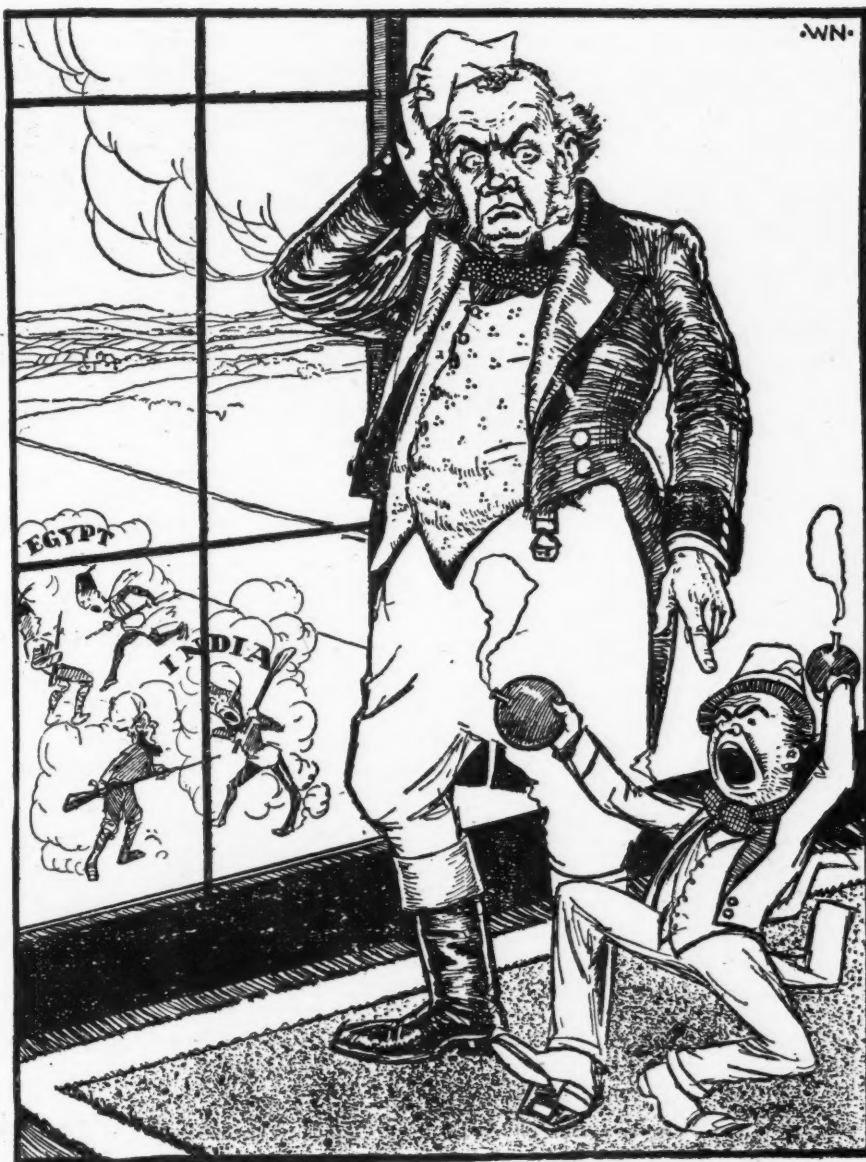
Slipping
One Over

Referring to the appointment of Ambassador Harvey to be unofficial observer in the Supreme Council.

—Brooklyn Eagle.

[Scottish Cartoon]

John Bull's Troubles



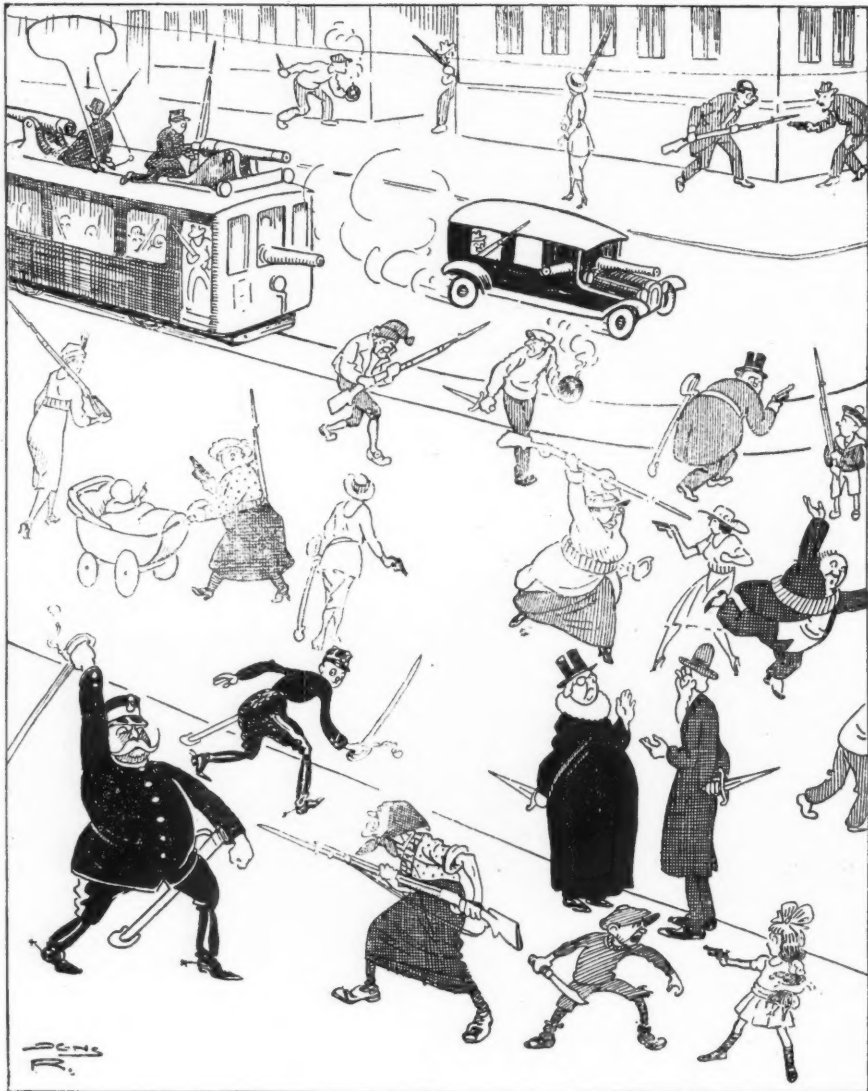
—Glasgow Bulletin.

"If This Is Peace, Give Me War"

Ireland is seething with insurrection, serious riots have recently occurred in Egypt, and the Nationalist movement under Gandhi in India is a cause of grave apprehension.

[Norwegian Cartoon]

Peace on Earth



—Hæpsten, Christiania.

What our streets would look like, if the mind of the individual were the same as the mind of nations.

LETTERS OF AN UKRAINIAN SOLDIER

These thrilling letters were written by Lieutenant Omilan Tarnavsky of the Ukrainian Army to his father, the Rev. Philemon Tarnavsky, pastor of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Cleveland, Ohio. They were translated from the original Ukrainian by Father Tarnavsky and Mrs. Eleanor E. Ledbetter of the Cleveland Public Library, who is Chairman of the American Library Association's Committee on Work With the Foreign Born. The father, as Mrs. Ledbetter explains, came to America in 1909, "having reached the limit of endurance of political persecution in his native Galicia." His oldest daughter died the next year; in 1913 he was joined by two sons. His wife and other daughter were at Przemysl when the war broke out, and he heard nothing of them for four long years. In 1914 his remaining son, Omilan, was to come to America for a vacation visit before entering the University of Lemberg, but he delayed his trip and was caught in the vortex and summoned to service in the Austrian Army. His father heard from him in 1916, when he lay in a hospital, threatened with the amputation of a leg. For the next two years Father Tarnavsky pictured the boy as a cripple, destitute and suffering, and when the armistice still brought no word he gave him up for dead. Then suddenly came these letters, bringing joy to the members of the family in America. Aside from their human interest, they give a vivid picture of the sufferings endured by those who were caught in the South Russian maelstrom after the great war.

Bohdan, Czechoslovakia, Sept. 2, 1920.

DEAREST FATHER: I am writing to tell you the complete story of my Odyssey. I found myself this morning in Bohemia. I rub my eyes to see if I am awake or dreaming. I cannot realize that I am really in some European country where a person feels free, where the people wear hats and ties.

I came here with an army unit which refused to obey General Pavlenko, whom the Poles called rebels and traitors. We had joined and served in General Pavlenko's army only because we thought we could take advantage of the situation to regain our western Ukrainian Republic. Seeing that we were not able to accomplish this, we decided by force of arms to break our way through the Polish lines from the Dniester into Bohemia; in this we succeeded, breaking the Polish line at Kosov, and so we got out from the enchanted ring in which we had been for one year and a half.

Now I want to describe to you my person. Don't think, father, that I am going to indulge any boasting. I hope my description will interest you, and that I may serve as a typical illustration of the boys who sacrificed everything for the good of the cause, and who, finding themselves unable to accomplish their aim, after various adventures landed here. I will begin with

my outward appearance. My mental disposition I leave to your own judgment. I will only tell you that my views of life are now far different from those of the cultured world; so, you see, I am changed beyond recognition.

In am 25 years old now, and I can tell you that I am looking very old. My hair became thinner and thinner, and left a small bald spot, and this explains why, though I was in the Ukrainian Army of Petlura, I could not raise a scalp lock.* My hair, to my great regret, became gray, but I do not mourn. It is the result of physical and moral suffering. My teeth are spoiled and need very badly to be put in order, but I cannot afford it. As the result of being on different fronts and eating from different filthy kitchens, I acquired catarrh of the stomach, but I don't worry about it, knowing that there is no remedy. Otherwise I am healthy. I am in good spirits, and have the moral satisfaction of knowing that I have acted rightly, that I did not betray my ideal and did not derive any personal gain out of the war. The best proof of this is that I am naked and barefoot. My outer covering, or so-called uniform, consists of

*The Ukrainian Cossacks of the old period shaved their heads close, leaving only one lock hanging from the side.

the seven parts described below, and acquired at different times:

1. An old cap from Denikin's army, riddled with bullets.
2. A Polish coat, with the Polish eagle on the buttons.
3. Leather trousers which once upon a time belonged to some "combrig"—this is the name by which the Bolsheviks call the commander of a brigade—and which I captured in some fighting with the Bolsheviks near Kiev.
4. Shoes of which I became the possessor in the last adventure, but which I have already burned at an unlucky bonfire while crossing the mountains of Cernahora.
5. A Bolshevik overcoat, very light and poor, in connection with which is a long and very tragic story which I do not want to tell you now.
6. One torn-to-pieces shirt.
7. A scrap of underwear.

As to my belongings, they consist of a knapsack and what it contains, namely, a towel, a piece of soap and a shoe brush, which I use very seldom, even to clean my uniform. I also possess some live stock in the shape of a little dog, of a Pomeranian breed, which I captured from a Polish officer in the battle at Lemberg on Dec. 27, 1918, and which, in hope of victory, I named Nika. This little dog shared with me good and bad fortune; on several occasions it saved my life. On April 20, 1919, it was severely wounded in a battle near Bodnariwka, and I took it out from the front line on my shoulder. This is all that I possess, adding only 25 Soviet rubles, which I must carry with me as a remembrance, and also because I cannot buy with them so much as a package of matches.

Now you know how I look; and all my comrades who have suffered look the same. I hope, with your help, to become somewhat more civilized in appearance, so that I can show myself among people, because in my uniform as I now look I would be arrested at the first occasion as a tramp. I am very sorry that my financial condition does not permit me to perpetuate my appearance by taking a picture of myself.

Lately I received a letter from mother and uncle, from which I learned that mother and sister are safe and living in M—, which news made me very happy. I was very much surprised to see they thought I had some money, which I never expect to have. This idea they based upon my expression of determination and strong desire to reach Bohemia and then America.

I wrote them thus, knowing from my war experiences that money is not needed for travel. I found out during the war that a person can live without a shirt, without shoes; that one can sleep not only on a soft bed, but also in trenches or on the bare ground; that one can get along very nicely without collar and tie; that it is not necessary to seat breakfast, dinner and supper; that one meal is enough, and that even without one you can live, and that for moving from place to place, Nature has provided good means in the shape of two feet. Basing my views on these convictions, I wrote to mother about my plan. Now that I have arrived here, I am hoping that you, father, will help me a little to accomplish this plan.

As you see, I have become a great philosopher since the war, and an ardent disciple of Diogenes. The truth is that I have no objection to putting an end to this gypsy existence and to starting some real life, but I am now beginning to realize that it will be very difficult. Perhaps if I once get back into the civilized world I can change my way of living, although I have no present means to accomplish this. I do not even know how to begin it. You know what I want first—rest, rest, rest, rest. I would not object even if the Czechs put me into prison, for there I could rest, both physically and mentally.

Now I want to describe for you my *curriculum vitae*. You know everything up to 1916. After I graduated from the military academy, well versed in military lore, I was commissioned a Lieutenant and sent to the eastern front, where I was very severely wounded in 1916. My leg was almost shattered by shrapnel. The surgeons wanted to amputate it, but I said I would rather die with two legs than live with one. They managed to put it together in some way, so that after six months I returned to duty and was sent to the Italian front. There I took part in the bloody battles on the Brenta and Piave until the outbreak of revolution in Austria in November, 1918. Then I made my way by foot from Italy over the Alpine peaks to the Tyrol, where I reached Bozen, and by the valley of the River Drava to the Carpathian mountains, where I arrived at the Galician border. Having the conviction that I could serve our cause best at the front, I

had no time to visit with mother, much less to get rid of my Italian cooties, but re-enlisted at once and went with the Ukrainian Army to Lemberg. I took part in the Winter campaign near Lemberg. Then came the very sad retreat from Galicia. During our offensive I was wounded again at the battle of Chartkoff, but the wound healed very soon, and after one month I was able to serve again at the front.

On July 16 the Ukrainian Army crossed the River Zbruch, and I considered at the time that we were crossing the limits of Europe, for Russia and the Great Ukraine I count as Asia. We crossed, not to return, and here began our terrible suffering. Different political changes and, above all, the ravages of typhoid fever annihilated our army. Nearly 30,000 officers and men died of typhoid. The epidemic was terrible; we had no nurses, no physicians, no medicines, not even a field hospital. It was a heavy task to bury the dead, both those behind the lines and those killed at the front. All the young men of our family, all my cousins, all the boys among our kindred, lawyers, physicians, students—all have been killed or died of disease. I alone am left. Alex, who was an artillery Lieutenant, blew out his brains in typhoid delirium. Aunt still looks for his return, and I cannot tell her what his fate actually was. Dr. Konstanty K., a young physician, died of typhoid at Kaminiec-Podolsk. Young Joann C. also died of typhoid. My cousin Victor was shot by the Bolsheviks at Kiev. Victor P. was killed in the battle at Lemberg. Michael T. was killed on the Russian front. Andrew G. was killed on the Italian front; Michael C. on the western front; Myron B. at Lemberg. Peter B. was missing on the Polish battlefield, and Stefan B. was killed on the Piave. So you see, father, that I am now the only young man left in our whole family.

This is a very sad picture I have drawn. You can imagine how we suffered and how terrible the epidemic was. There were only 5 per cent. of boys like myself who survived. I will give you more details in my next letter.

Now I want to tell you what wars we fought. I served as follows:

1. With the Ukrainians against the Bolsheviks.
2. With the Ukrainians against Denikin.
3. With the army of Denikin against the

Bolsheviks. [After Denikin had promised liberty to Ukraina.] Then, when Denikin failed to keep his promise to establish an independent Ukrainian Republic, we went over to the Bolsheviks and fought.

4. Against Denikin.
5. With the Bolsheviks against the Poles. After parting with the Bolsheviks we joined—
6. With the Poles and Petlura against the Bolsheviks. In this last war we did not take any active part; every one tried to be neutral.

Now, father, tell me, do you know any other army that has fought so many wars? I don't believe you do. It seems to me that we made a record. Through them all we were never false to our ideal, and never betrayed our Ukrainian flag.

Our last adventure was breaking through the Polish lines into Czechoslovakia. We organized and decided in this way to protest against the Polish rule in Galicia, not having strength enough to clear this region from the Polish invaders. I must add that many of us—including myself—fought a guerrilla war in Ukraina, particularly after we left the Bolsheviks.

Well, you see my situation. As I said, I would like to gain some repose of mind, even in a Czech prison. I write you this letter from the village of Bohdan, on the border line of Galicia and Rusinia. At the first opportunity I will mail it. Perhaps you may get a cablegram before you get this letter, if I should be able to get some few crowns to pay for it. I hope in this way to communicate with you and get some help. I cannot give you my address, as I do not know where I will be tomorrow.

How does it seem to you, father, to look at this European turmoil from America! I read in some papers that our Ukrainian people in America have turned Bolsheviks. Is this true? Have they joined the Third International? I want to tell you that the time I was with the Bolsheviks will be a black page in the history of my life. They are bandits; their hands are red with blood.

I must close now. I hope that the mail connections I have with you now will not be interrupted. Forgive me for my poor writing; I am not used to such a civilized job. For years I have not written anything besides signing army orders. I kiss you.

OMILAN.

Liberec, Czechoslovakia, Sept. 12, 1920.

Dearest Father: I write you this second

letter from exile. I do not know whether you received my first letter or not. I have reached my temporary destination and I am interned in camp. The Czechs treat us very sympathetically and give us plenty of freedom, but I cannot make use of it on account of my outward appearance and my physical condition. I am barefooted and naked, and in my pockets is a *vacuum Torricelli*. They give us something to eat, but what they give is insufficient and unsatisfactory for a man of any refinement. However, I do not mind this, for I have been used to a life like this for a long time. The worst thing is the lack of tobacco, and I beg of you, if possible, to send me some tobacco or cigars, for it is impossible to obtain them here even at high prices.

I would like you, so far as you find it possible—for I have no other source to improve my condition—to provide me with some clothing, so that I can dress myself again like a civilized man. Things are very expensive here. It costs in Czech money about 2,000 kronen to get a suit and overcoat, without shoes.

I do not expect to get better meals and better accommodations, although I need these greatly to improve my physical health, which is very badly shattered by different adventures and wars; but one needs plenty of money for that purpose. I would also like to have my teeth put in order, so I beg you, father, to send me a little money as soon as possible; if you can, send it by cable. I myself would like to cable, but I cannot afford it. I can hardly get money to put the stamp on the letter.

When I become again a civilized man I am going to study English, for I think I will need it in the future. It will be the easiest thing I can do, because I do not feel strong enough to start the study of any specialty. I imagine my future as the entrance to a tunnel; it seems like a black opening without any bottom. I have not thought seriously about it before, because I have been living in a condition where I never thought further than one day. It was always possible that the next day I might not be alive, and sometimes I rather hoped I would not be. I was always in danger of death. Now, at least, my life is safe. Though the Poles and Bolsheviks, with whom I always fought and against whom—from their viewpoint—I

have sinned greatly, are very anxious to catch me, they cannot do me any harm now.

Here in Czechoslovakia they have divided our Ukrainian unit, with which I landed here, into laborers' divisions. To such a division I belong myself; I am ranked as commander. Some of my old acquaintances are here. One of them has a father in America; perhaps you know his address. He is Nicholas N., from the village of B—, and his father is Peter N.* Write me if you know his address, for Nicholas needs help as well as I. I have met a few boys here who were prisoners of war in Italy, and from them I learned that my best friend, Stephen, was still alive, that he was an Italian prisoner of war; I was given his address. It made me very happy to learn that my friend was alive also. [Stephen was a theological student just ready for ordination when the war began in 1914.] There is a rumor that my uncle [an officer of high rank], who was captured by the Poles, has escaped from his Polish prison and is here, but I am not sure. My condition now does not seem very enviable, but I expect it will change very soon for the better, and I am not discontented with what I have now.

* * *

I have not seen mother for many years, and now I hear the Bolsheviks are in Galicia, so I cannot gain any communication with her now. They must be in misery. When the Muscovite ruffians come there will be bad doings. I know them too well.

I wait impatiently for a letter, dearest father, after so many years of separation. I am sorry you are so far, and that the communication is so poor that one has to wait so long for an answer.

I must close now. I kiss you.

OMILAN.

*Peter N— was a peasant who had devoted his life to the education of his son Nicholas; as it was impossible for him to secure sufficient money to accomplish this in Galicia, he came to America for that express purpose. The boy had graduated from the *gymnasium* (high school), in 1914, and his father had never heard from him since the war began. Mr. T— was able, upon inquiry among his countrymen, to learn Peter's address, and wrote him: "Your son and mine are both alive; they are in Czechoslovakia, and are in need of help." The next Saturday at close of work, Peter took the train and traveled 700 miles to the home of Mr. T—, where the two fathers talked from noon until 11 o'clock at night about their sons, so long mourned as dead, and so miraculously restored to life.—TRANSLATOR.

Terezin, Czechoslovakia, Sept. 24, 1920.

Dearest Father: Did you get my letters? I have written you three times. Now I write you from another place. I expect to stay here for some time. We are engaged in service here and receive 3 crowns daily. It is about enough for a letter and stamp. Everything is very expensive; you can get all necessities here, but you have to pay terrible prices. I sit in the barracks and do not go out on account of my so-called uniform. If this state of affairs lasts much longer I fear I shall go insane.

I thought I would write some recollections from Great Ukraine, but I am in such a queer mood now that at times I am not able to write a letter, much less my recollections, so I put it off. I am, however, beginning to recover my normal poise, though very slowly; I think it will be a long time before I will be as before. Some man has said that the most complete moral rest is in prison, and this seems to me to be true, for my present life differs but little from prison life. Such a life has good and bad aspects for me. It is rest that I need, and yet rest wears on me, for I was used to a free life in the Great Ukrainian steppes, where, in spite of wars and enemies, there is some sweep and plenty of motion and space such as you would not find in any civilized country.

Culture has made very slow progress in the Ukraine. I can truthfully say that from the sixteenth century it has remained in the same level. You can meet the same Zaporogian Cossacks as those of the old time. In General Pavlenko's army there is a Zaporogian unit, whose members do not differ in any respect from their ancestors of old—the same adventurers and cut-throats. Among them I met some Hejdu-nak; the same as those who captured Uman. [A historical episode of the sixteenth century]. To cut the throat of a Jew is to them the same as to kill a fly. I have had a chance to be with them—I would not say I have had the pleasure. I was with them, I lived with them and I fought in their ranks. It is true that I would not wish to be with them again. But, anyway, after this life in Great Ukraine, to be shut up in barracks in Czechoslovakia is rather hard on me. I need it, however, to strengthen my nerves—if I have any nerves left.

I got my first letter from Stephen and I

was very happy and glad that at least I can communicate with one of my friends. It seems that our Ukrainian boys have been scattered over the face of the whole world. I have just heard of 300 who have long been war prisoners of the British on the Island of Madagascar, and who now, after circumnavigating the Continent of Africa, have arrived also in Czechoslovakia.

I must close now. I kiss you.

OMILAN.

Terezin, Czechoslovakia, Oct. 18, 1920.

Dearest Father:

It is almost seven weeks now since I wrote you. It seems a very long time, but I think the trouble is with the communication. I received two letters from mother. They are all well.

One thing worries me very much. Mother wrote me that you are in poor financial condition;* and I felt very uncomfortable over having asked for help without knowing the conditions. Now I see you will not be able to fulfill my requests, so I beg you don't heed these lamentations of Jeremiah. Put all my letters into the waste basket. If you want to help me, send what few pennies you have left over, but do not deny yourself. If I had known the conditions, I would have refrained from making a request for help. I am accustomed to misery now, so I do not consider it as a misfortune, but as a necessity. I adapt myself now to a new condition like a chameleon, or, rather, as the ox adapts itself to the yoke.

I do not leave my barracks; I do not suffer from the cold because I do not go out. I am happy because I am not alone. There are at least 1,000 officers and several thousand Ukrainian soldiers in Terezin. Where I am now there are 12 officers and 300 Ukrainian soldiers, and in company you cannot feel bad. You know the gypsy hung himself for company. So I ask you once more, don't heed my letters. Perhaps I put you in some unpleasant position by my request. I can get along very well myself, and the war can get along very well with-

*This was a misunderstanding by the young officer of a letter sent by his father to his mother, explaining that he was unable to send funds for all the Ukrainian refugees mentioned by her as being in need of assistance. Immediately on receipt of the first letter, the father cabled money to the Governor of Ruzin for the son's passage to America; and upon receipt of the second letter another sum was sent directly to the young man. The money, however, was long in reaching its destination.

out me. I have wandered all over Europe for six years. It seems to me already far too long, and yet I don't know what the future has in store for me. Perhaps I must wander six years longer. If there should be no new adventure in the Spring, I will try to get some physical labor. Now I am not able to, because very many people are out of work, and in addition it is very cold. Perhaps it will not be necessary, because our diplomats say that our cause is progressing favorably now, and perhaps we will get back to our country without any new adventure, though I fear this is a vain hope. At present I must be satisfied with 3 kronen daily and two cups of black coffee, one in the morning and one in the evening.

The worst thing is my clothing. It is now increased by one shirt, which I received as a gift from a comrade, God bless him. He had three and I had only one. Now we each have two. With my shoes there is some improvement also. I received from the Czechs a pair of old army shoes, which I am very sorry I cannot wear on account of their dimensions. Our Ukrainian Government and our diplomats forget us, and the strangers do not care much about us. In the beginning they made us happy by telling us that we would get the same wages as Czech officers. This would happen, they said, within a fortnight, but from Nov. 15 they put it off *ad kalendas Graecas in infinitum*.

I am going now to arm myself with patience and to wait until Spring. In the Spring perhaps we will start some adventure, or try to get some physical labor, or I do not know myself what. Perhaps I will enlist in some foreign legion. I cannot live as I live now. It is true that I did live in worse conditions than now, but that was due to war and to iron necessity. It was something quite different—trenches, grenades, mines, shrapnel, cannon balls, hunger, cold, cooties and different things. Here, on the contrary, everything is normal. The people are peaceful, and I, ragged and torn, am without a penny in my pocket, without any aim, without any tomorrow, like a dog. But, father, I don't mind. One must wait; some day, maybe, "the sunshine into our windows will come."

Did you see any one in America from my birthplace? I passed it in 1918, but I could not locate the place where the church

was. There was not even a post left of the whole village. How the people there must have suffered! You are lucky, father, that you did not see anything that was going on there.

I beg you once more to pardon my letters of request and to write me a very nice long letter. I kiss you. OMILAN.

Terezin, Czechoslovakia, Nov. 8, 1920.

Dearest Father:

For three days I have been receiving letters from you, two written to Terezin and one to Liberec, with priceless news for me. The last letter even enclosed \$2. There was no limit to my happiness when I got these letters, and I did not dare to believe that a way could be open for me to America. It was like a temple of India opening for me, revealing a god of gold within, who would help me to get out of this enchanted ring.

I expect some difficulties, because I have to get a passport and a discharge or furlough from the army of the West Ukrainian Republic. Our dictator has ordered the mobilization of all Ukrainians belonging to West Ukraine and living in Czechoslovakia, so you see, father, it looks very bad for me. In the office of our Secretary of War I have a friend with whom I made all the old Ukrainian campaigns. If they do not remove him I can count on a speedy and satisfactory fulfillment of my request. It will be very sad for me to leave my comrades, and to play no part in the coming events. Perhaps they will have to fight again with the Polish brigands, and my palms will itch to fight them; but the desire to see my father and my brothers is worth something, too.

I am afraid I cannot get along with the money you sent me if they keep postponing the passports. I have no information as to what it costs from Liberec to Rotterdam. But, any way, I will try to get along, and I am determined to go to America, even if I have to be lodged on the smokestack.

I wonder that you cannot communicate with mother. I have good communication with her now, and receive letters every six days. It would be good for mother and sister to come with me to America, and you must write them urging them to join me. I will let them know when I am ready to leave, and in case they are coming I can wait for them here in Czechoslovakia, or they can meet me in Germany. I cannot go

to Galicia; if I did, the Poles would hang me immediately. So think it over, father, and let me know by cable what you decide. My trip will be delayed by that, but I would be glad to come together with them.

Irene wrote me that she got \$5 with your letter, and that before that they got 10,000 crowns.* This seems to me a very large amount. I did not get any money from you yet except the \$2, which means 184 crowns. An American dollar gleams like gold here. One dollar is worth 384 Polish marks and 400 Austrian crowns, but Polish and Austrian money is of no value here. It is like the dust you empty in the ashbin.

The first thing I shall do when I receive the money will be to buy a suit and to get what other things I need for the trip. I think I will go to Prague to our Ukrainian Ambassador, to ask him to clear the difficulties from my way. Then I must wait for your letter about mother and Irene.

I am in Terezin now, but I expect to be transferred very soon to Liberec, so write the next letter to that town. I have no special news for you. I stay in the barracks and blow on my hands to keep them warm, and I warm my heart with hope for the future. I thank Ivan for sending the tobacco, but I did not get it. I am an unhappy boy without tobacco.

My dog is with me, and if it does not cost

too much I think I will take him with me to America. I would cry if I had to leave him in the old country, because he has been with me in good and bad fortune and shared my meals and my home under the blue sky. But if I cannot get enough money to take the dog with me, then I will have to leave him with my best comrade.

I asked how much the steamship ticket cost, and it looks as though it will be very high, but I think I will get better information. Today with the \$2 you sent me I shall have a banquet in the shape of some sausage and a glass of beer—a treat which I have not had for a very long time; my little dog will enjoy the feast with me. I shall be happy, and I will praise the Lord in heaven that I have a father in America. I kiss you. OMILAN.

[The young man finally received the money to pay his way to America, but, the translator states, he is still eating out his heart in Czechoslovakia, as our Government officials do not see their way to visé-ing his passport unless he goes back to the Polish authorities in Galicia for credentials. The irony of this lies in the fact that if he goes to Galicia the authorities will hang him, because he fought against the Poles.]

*This remittance was more than seven months on the way.

THE GREAT NAPOLEON'S GRANDDAUGHTER

PARIS observed the centenary of Napoleon Bonaparte's death with elaborate ceremonies on May 5. Amid all the pomp in honor of the one-time arbiter of Europe, another figure stood out in contrast—that of a woman of 50, dressed in black, with a fine, open face, lined by sorrow and the incessant effort to eke out a livelihood, a teacher in an ordinary elementary school near the Boulevard St. Michel. This poor teacher, now living in a tiny apartment, with her cat and a few meagre possessions, is the granddaughter of Napoleon I. Her father was the illegitimate son of Napoleon and Eleonore de la Plaigne, a maid of honor to Caroline Marat. Napoleon gave the boy the title of Count Léon. Born in 1806, "Count Léon" died in 1881, after an exciting and feverish life, into which he crowded excessive gambling,

many duels and love affairs, and some mystical meditations. The Count married and had three sons; two of these are now dead, the other is living quietly in the Vosges. The Count's only daughter, Charlotte Léon, the subject of this paragraph, was born when her father was 60 years old. She began life as a teacher in Algeria to support her widowed mother, to whom the Count had left but small means of subsistence. After hard years of struggle on a pittance she finally went to Paris, where she married a M. Mesnard, taking the name of Mme. Mesnard-Léon. Her husband is now dead, and she lives alone, barely removed from want, meditating on the strange destiny of her grandfather, the great Emperor, of her father's wild and stormy life—and of her only son, who died for France at Rheims during the war.

THE TRAGEDY OF CHILD LIFE UNDER BOLSHEVISM

BY DR. BORIS SOKOLOV*

How the fanatical purpose of the Soviet leaders to "nationalize" the children of Russia and educate them as communists is causing their death by thousands—Mothers forced to send infants to Government "nurseries," where they perish of neglect

VERY little has thus far been said about the children and the tears they have been shedding most copiously in Soviet Russia. It is as if the worries of the adults, their trials and tribulations, had altogether pushed aside the problems of the children. We adults are really great egoists. Suffering ourselves, we pass by the tears of our children lightly and carelessly.

Speaking at the Pirogoff Medical Congress in August, 1920, Doctor Horn said:

I am prepared to forgive the Bolsheviki a great many things, almost everything. * * * But one thing there is which I can not and will not forgive them, namely, those experiments, positively criminal and worthy of the most savage tribes of the African jungle, which the Bolsheviki have been making all this time with our young generation, with our children! This crime knows no parallel throughout the history of the world! They have destroyed, morally as well as physically, a whole Russian generation; they have destroyed it irretrievably, and, alas, beyond remedy!

Among the first to come under the suspicion of the Bolsheviki and to be subjected to all manner of persecution and reprisals were the Russian pedagogues. Not only the teachers of high schools and elementary schools, but also the women teachers in the kindergartens, nurseries and other institutions for children.

At the conference on Public Education held in 1918, the Bolshevik Commissary Lilina said:

We have to create out of the young generation a generation of communists. We must make real, good communists of the children, for they, like wax, are easily molded. And when we shall have grown tired and step aside, our places will be taken by them—our new communists who will have been brought up from childhood in the ideas of communism. Therefore we must at once, without procrastination, commence the train-

ing of the children. This, however, requires, first of all, that we sweep from the schools and institutions, as with a broom, all this bourgeois tuft-hunting crowd, all these pedagogues and teachers who are thoroughly permeated with the poison of the bourgeois philosophy of life.

We must remove the children from the pernicious influence of the family. We must register the children, or, let us speak plainly, nationalize them. Thus they will from the very start remain under the beneficial influence of communist kindergartens and schools. Here they will absorb the alphabet of communism. Here they will grow up to be real communists. To compel the mother to surrender her child to us, to the Soviet State, that is the practical task before us. (Reported in the official journal of the Commissariat of Public Education, *Narodnoye Prosvieschenie*, No. 4.)

In accordance with this "idée fixe," the Bolshevik power set out in 1918 to inaugurate its "childhood measures." These were definite, drastic measures, devoid of all foresight, and, of course, bringing altogether unexpected results for the Bolsheviki. The persecution of the teachers and educators by the Bolshevik authorities forced the most efficient and ideal elements among the pedagogical staffs to abandon their class rooms and to seek other employment. Their places were taken by communists who not only lacked in experience, but were total strangers in the field of pedagogy and—this was the worst of all—openly hostile to it.

Carrying out its scheme of nationalizing the children, bent on tearing them away

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from their families, the Soviet Government allowed very little food to be distributed on children's ration tickets, insisting that every infant above the age of one year should be turned over to the Bolshevik nurseries. This the population, i. e., the mothers, positively refused to do. That they were right may be seen, among other evidence, from the report of the Soviet Inspection for February, 1920, where we find the following annihilating criticism of those institutions:

The thoroughgoing inspection of sixteen children's nurseries in the City of Petrograd has revealed a criminal and disgraceful treatment of the young generation at the hands of the responsible persons. So we found the Rozdestvenskia Nursery, where more than 100 children, ranging in age from 1 to 4 years, were maintained (and most of them children of workers) in a condition which demanded its immediate closing. The children, left to their own devices, under the supervision of inexperienced and rough-spoken nurses, with filthy clothing, pale from lack of sufficient nourishment, made a painful impression. The place itself, unventilated and poorly heated, fostered all manner of diseases and contributed to the exceedingly high rate of mortality among the children. In the course of three months the child population of that institution renewed itself to an extent of 90 per cent. In other words, nearly all of them were sent to the hospital, or, having failed even to reach the hospital, they perished while still at the nursery.

The well-known physician, Doctor N. Petrov, spoke of the impressions he had gained from a visit to several nurseries for children from 1 to 5 years of age in Petrograd and Moscow, before a meeting of the Society of Children's Specialists:

The Vyborg Nursery was once considered almost a model for others. I, therefore, visited it in the first place.

The broad staircase is filthy and untidy, and from the distance I hear already the children crying and weeping desperately. The Superintendent, M-va, now a communist, formerly a schoolmistress in a country school, reluctantly and hesitatingly gave me permission to look over the nursery. And—just as reluctantly—she came along with me on my inspection.

"Why do the children cry like this?" I asked her.

M-va frowned, answering:

"Oh, you know, it is really impossible to do anything with these children!"

The large room, crowded with little beds, was literally filled with the moans of crying and weeping children. Some were without underwear, others—in dirty little shirts turned black with filth, and most of them without bed sheets and pillow slips. Thus

were lying in their beds—sometimes two in one—little children ranging in age from 1 to 5 years.

A woman, evidently one of the nurses, wearing an apron and cap, was going from one bed to another and quieting the loudest criers by vigorous little spankings. My particular attention was attracted by one child crying more bitterly than the rest. I went over to the bed. A pretty little three-year-old girl it was. Notwithstanding all the spankings from the nurse, she did not stop crying loudly and with somewhat unusual plaintiveness.

"But listen," said I to M-va, "this little girl is ill. She has fever. And, look here, there is even a rash here. She is undoubtedly suffering from the measles!"

"Yes, yes, that may be," replied the Superintendent rather indifferently and betraying no surprise at all; "we have many sick children, but there is no place to send them to. In Petrograd the children's hospitals are overcrowded."

As for the other Soviet nurseries, they present exactly the same picture, in the capital as well as in the provincial towns. Thus we read in the report of the Congress on Kindergarten Training, held in July, 1920:

The Joint Inspection Committee of the People's Commissariats of Education and Public Health has demanded the immediate closing of nurseries in five provincial capitals along the Volga, owing to the abominable manner in which the children's training is carried on there, and also because of the disproportionately large number of cases of sickness.

The critical state of this official "guardianship" of little children was still further aggravated by the fact that the Bolshevik Government did not countenance, and does not suffer to this very day, any private initiative in this matter. The numerous, and often model, institutions for the care of children which came into existence especially after the March revolution of 1917, were either closed or transferred to official Bolshevik management. Even against the Children's Defense League, the only organization working hard for the protection of the children, the Bolsheviks are fighting incessantly. The President of this league, the well-known Doctor Kishkin, complained to me:

In spite of the fact that the children's problem is very critical, and notwithstanding that our league, the only remaining independent organization of its kind in Russia, renders a great amount of help to the Government in this work, we are still treated as outcasts. We have been forced during

these two years to spend more strength and energy on our self-preservation than, alas, on serving the cause of the children. The Bolsheviks tolerate nothing which is not of the Soviet, even though it be a beneficial and necessary thing for the Russian people.

TRAGEDY OF RUSSIAN MOTHERHOOD

Of private nurseries, a few have survived through some miracle. There remain two or more in Moscow and about as many in Petrograd. The Superintendent of one of these (The Lesshaft Nurseries in Torgovaia Street, 25) spoke at length to me about the tragedy of Russian motherhood. She said:

The Russian mother is now living through a deep tragedy, indeed. Just look at the women you pass on the street; you will at once be able to point out a mother of an infant among them. She is the one with the pale, wan, careworn face. You can imagine what it means: the Soviet Government insistently demanding that the mother turn over her children to the official nurseries, when you have seen for yourself what a horror they are! And they are such horrors because they have been intrusted to people who do not love that work and who are perfect strangers to it. As a matter of fact, the death rate among the nursery children is appalling, and to send your child there is almost certain death. So Russian mothers, even the most desperately poor and most unfortunate, do not care to surrender their children to the Soviet nurseries. But here comes a new tragedy. The earnings of the husband are so triflingly small in Soviet Russia that it compels the wife, especially the workingman's wife, to seek outside employment by all means.

This is the reason why mothers are compelled to leave at home, without any attendance, their one-year-old, and frequently even younger infants. But that is only one side of the tragedy. On the other side, the Soviet Government, anxious to drive every child into its official nurseries, only reluctantly and very meagrely allows food on children's ration tickets. Very seldom it furnishes milk and very irregularly other foodstuffs.

Thus there stands again before the Russian mother the spectre of death threatening her little one. For free commerce is suppressed, and there is no place where she can buy milk.

In 1920 the few remaining private nurseries, which were really model institutions, suddenly became objects of special attention on the part of the Bolsheviks. But this solicitude of the Soviet Government turned out to have a sinister motive behind it. These private nurseries (Lesshaft, Dietskoie and Solodovnikov nurseries), notwithstanding that they have been left in the

hands of private individuals, have been called by the Bolshevik authorities "Soviet Model Nurseries" and are now being shown to all foreign visitors and delegations as such.

Having suffered defeat in its scheme to take the children away from their mothers and to nationalize them; having met a categorical refusal on the part of the mothers to turn over their children to the Soviet nurseries, or, as they are popularly known in Petrograd, "morilki" (starvation houses), the Soviet Government, nevertheless, did not give up its intention, but shifted the struggle to the field of public feeding of children. "One way or another, we shall force the mothers to agree to have the children nationalized"—this utterance of Commissary Badaiev was reflected in his policy of child nourishment. The struggle raging around the food allowances for children has its past history as well as its present, and is in brief as follows:

In the beginning (1918), as long as there was still a certain degree of free commerce, the mothers in the cities paid scant attention to the official rations. Milk they obtained in more or less sufficient quantities in the markets, just as other needed articles of food for their children. Gradually, however, the ring about free commerce began to grow tighter and tighter, in Petrograd more so than in Moscow. Then the problem of public feeding of the children became particularly pressing.

Special "children's centres" were then established in various city districts, and the mothers were also permitted to take part in this work. But here two viewpoints became apparent: that of the Soviet Government, which demanded peremptorily that little children be fed at Soviet restaurants (for children), and that of the mothers, who were equally categorical in demanding a special children's food allowance to be given to the mothers at home. The mothers were pointing out that it was utterly absurd to demand that little children between 1 and 4 years of age should be fed at Soviet restaurants, even though these be specially provided for children, since the preparation of the food there was so far below the most elementary requirements of child hygiene that "it would be a crime for mothers to feed their children in Soviet restau-

rants." (Report of Conference of Petrograd Mothers, July, 1920.)

In this struggle, which lasted all through 1919 and through the first few months of 1920, the mothers came out victorious in the end. A children's ratio was established and is being given to the mothers at home, although with great delays and irregularity.

APPALLING INFANT MORTALITY

The results of this criminal policy of the Bolsheviks began to tell already in 1919. The city children born within the period from 1917 to 1920 have shown themselves entirely unfit to survive. They have furnished an appalling rate of mortality, they are extremely sickly and weak and bear the marks of degeneracy. Thus we cannot help agreeing with the opinion of the Pirogov Medical Congress and the Children's Defense League when they say:

The Soviet Government has done practically nothing to alleviate the condition of the children. On the contrary, it has with its stupid measures frequently prevented private initiative from saving the newly born citizens of Soviet Russia. By driving out experienced pedagogues and turning this work over to communists who, although they may be idealists, understand nothing about the raising of children, the Soviet Government has from the very first steps in the development of the children contributed an element of disintegration and degeneration.

Cold, objective figures, too, show plainly the present condition of young urban Russia. Thus the official Bolshevik Public Health organ, the *Izvestia Zdravookhraneniya*, No. 11, cites the following figures for the City of Moscow, particularly significant because the population of Moscow has almost remained stationary:

Marriages in—	Births in—
1914..... 12,000	1913..... 54,000
1916..... 7,500	1915..... 49,700
1917..... 9,900	1916..... 57,375
1919..... 18,784	1918..... 31,500
1920..... 20,000	1919..... 26,676
	1920..... 23,000

Mortality of children up to the age of 16 years per 10,000 inhabitants:

1913..... 81	1919..... 372
1915..... 78	1920..... 400
1918..... 100	

In other words, along with an increase of marriages, the number of births has gone down sharply. But the newly born infants also turn out to be unfit for survival. There are as many children dying as there are born.

"To us it is plain," said the Society of Child Specialists on this occasion, "that so high a mortality rate among the children and such a marked decline in the birth rate is directly connected with the measures taken by the Government, which is doing everything in its power to destroy the family and to nationalize the children, beginning with one-year-old infants. We have to note with sorrow that the young generation of this period does not exist for Russia."

Such are the facts, such is the reality. A sea of children's tears, heaps of little children's corpses strew the path of the Soviet power.

EDITORIAL NOTE—A tendency of the Soviet Government to modify its policy in this field as in others was indicated at the beginning of May by a statement made in London by Arthur Watts of the Friends' Emergency War Relief Committee, one of the two Quaker workers who have been granted full permission by the Russian Government to carry on relief activities among children. After ten months' labors in Russia Mr. Watts said: "We are now responsible for the daily feeding of 16,000 children in Moscow, having been given complete freedom by the Soviet authorities, after we had made clear that our action was not to be taken as approval of the political régime, but as an act of humanity. The supplies are distributed through the Departments of Public Health and Public Instruction, which are run in the interests of the children. They are devoid of political coloring, as is evident from the fact that Lunacharsky employs in prominent positions leading Mensheviks, who, although they oppose the Government, are working loyally for them on behalf of the children. Conditions regarding bread and fuel are better just now, but those in respect of fats and milk are more serious than ever, owing to failure of last season's fodder crops and the drought. Till recently only 3,000 of the 16,000 children were able to be supplied with the free milk to which they were entitled from the welfare centres, but we are steadily increasing this total. Last year the £35,000 we were able to spend in medicines, milk and clothing almost all came from England, but this year we have received £180,000 through the American Friends' Service Committee from the Hoover and other funds, besides help from the Save-the-Children Fund in England."

THE TRUTH ABOUT KOLCHAK

BY SIDNEY C. GRAVES

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the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia

Mr. Graves, who writes as an eyewitness, gives an interesting picture of the process by which Kolchak's republic degenerated into a despotism, and his rule into an organized system of terrorism which alienated the whole Siberian population. An important part of the article is the account of the friction which arose between the American Chief of Staff and the Omsk authorities from the arbitrary acts of the Kolchak Generals, Semenov and Kalmikov, and also because of the anti-American campaign of insult and abuse which was waged by the Kolchak partisans in the Vladivostok Russian press.

WHAT was the real cause of the defeat of Kolchak by the Bolsheviki? Of the numerical superiority of the Reds there can be no doubt, but that the efficient functioning of these forces was due solely to their leadership by coerced Russian officers of the old régime is manifestly absurd, although this factor has been repeatedly assigned as one of the principal reasons for the success of the Soviet armies over Kolchak, as over Denikin and Wrangel.

In Siberia the fall of Kolchak was attributed to failure of allied support—particularly American support—and General Graves, commanding, was openly accused of active opposition to the Kolchak Government, not only by Russians, but by many misinformed people in the United States. The fault, however, lay within that Government itself, for its political character and the conduct of its agents was such as to alienate completely the confidence and support of the masses and to drive a large percent of the population into support of Bolshevism as an alternative to escape the reactionary terror to which they were subjected. Many allied observers with Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel declared emphatically that the reactionary character of these ventures contributed largely to their failure. The failure of Kolchak was typical.

Consider the auspicious circumstances under which the Omsk Government was ushered into power. The efforts of the heroic Czechs had cleared all Central Siberia of the Bolsheviki, so that Kolchak was able to set up his allegedly liberal government at Ufa, directed from Omsk, without let or hindrance. The people hailed the new democratic régime with joy, and prepared to give it their wholehearted support. But on Nov. 18, 1918, only about one week after the birth of the new republic, Kolchak,

aided at least in part by allied support of his contention that only a strongly centralized Government would have power to overthrow the Bolsheviki, renounced this republic and assumed the rôle of dictator. The people were filled with doubt and uneasiness, yet they acquiesced, in view of Kolchak's protestations that he would lay down his dictatorship the moment the object sought was accomplished—in view of the fact that the Kolchak officials had not yet begun to abuse their authority. These factors were reinforced by the capture of Perm by General Gaida, a Czech, who had resigned his command of the Czechoslovak forces to lead the Kolchak troops.

Belief in the eventual success of Kolchak was still widespread. But the military situation, at first so favorable, went from bad to worse. Gaida, Kolchak's one efficient and honest General, was pursued from the start by jealousy and persecution from Omsk, and the strategical blunder of his chief of staff, General Bogoslavsky, during the Bolshevik offensive of June, 1919, which cost Kolchak the lives of some 25,000 much needed men, contributed to force his dismissal. He was succeeded by General Dietricks, whose régime was marked by gross corruption, dishonesty and abuse of power. Dietricks's counter-offensive during September and October of 1919 at first gave promise of success, but the support of the people was going, if not already gone, and the restoration of class privilege and the reactionary reign of terror incident thereto, drove civilian and soldier alike into the ranks of Bolshevism. Dietricks's retreat became a rout; Omsk was threatened, and General Sakharov, his successor, failed to make good his boast that he could defend it.

Military opposition to the Soviet forces may be said to have ceased with the fall of Omsk and the destruction of the remnants of the army, about the middle of November, as Dietricks had prophesied. In this attempted defense of the city Kolchak lost approximately 40,000 men, and complete trainloads of supplies fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

THE INTERALLIED ATTITUDE

Before considering in detail the extremes of the Omsk Government, which underlay the military failure, a brief understanding of the divergent participation of the various allies is advisable.

The British, represented by a mission, at the head of which was General Knox, continued to the last to support Admiral Kolchak, and through him a considerable quantity of arms and equipment was furnished Kolchak's troops. Every effort was made to obtain American recognition and support, and in this General Knox was strongly seconded by Mr. Soukine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Omsk Government, who believed that the moral backing and supplies which could be furnished by the United States were essential to success.

The French were in complete accord with the British, but were mainly concerned with instruction and liaison work, and for this purpose furnished advisory officers with each Siberian unit and opened schools for Russian officers. General Janin, who came to Siberia with the hope of assuming the field command and who was in charge of the French Military Mission, and technically also in charge of all Polish, Czech and Yugo-Slav forces, became greatly incensed at the extremes of the Kolchak Government, and was bitterly condemned in Russian circles because he failed to prohibit the issuance of a Czech memorandum setting forth in detail the atrocities of the Omsk forces.

The Japanese, for their part, issued proclamations of neutrality and non-interference in the internal affairs of the Russian people. Their objects and mode of operation were covered by me in an article appearing in *CURRENT HISTORY* for May, and it is sufficient to state here that their activities were confined to Eastern Siberia, that they seized every opportunity to foster

or instigate anti-Americanism, and that they subsidized various factions, one against the other, with an apparent inconsistency readily explained by their paramount endeavor—namely to foment discord to such an extent as to make their continued occupation of Southeastern Siberia a necessity.

The orders given General Graves, the American commander, were those of strict neutrality, and fortunately these instructions were not changed from Washington nor deviated from by the American Expeditionary Force during the entire period of occupation. The failure of our forces actively to support Kolchak and to condone the actions of his agents, and other semi-independent Cossack leaders in the Far East, led to a bitter anti-American campaign in an endeavor to force a change of policy where persuasion, seconded by General Knox and the British, had failed. This activity was mainly confined to propaganda in the press, instigated by such men as General Kretichinsky, who on one occasion sent a messenger to see General Graves with the statement that he would stop all offensive articles if he were paid \$20,000 a month, and that it would be to General Graves's advantage to reply before 7 P. M.

A considerable number of rifles were purchased by part payment in the United States and forwarded General Graves for delivery to Omsk, but the first shipment was held at Chita by Ataman Semenov, who gave the lieutenant in charge a few hours to deliver or be attacked. This the American officer refused to do, and Semenov failed to make good his threat, but the hostile attitude of this Cossack leader and of Kalmikov, further east, led to the following telegram, for which General Graves was criticised in the United States by misinformed people, who credited him solely with refusing to furnish Omsk with needed rifles and consequently aiding the Bolsheviks. To quote:

In view of the anti-American declarations of Kalmikov and actions of General Rozanov in doing nothing to stop Kalmikov, and in view of the fact that Semenov has told Kalmikov that he will assist him in case of trouble against the United States, I have informed the War Department and have recommended no sale of military supplies to Admiral Kolchak for the Government so long as his agents in the East are threatening to declare war on the United States. Please tell the Foreign Minister the above and say to

him that I have refused to give up rifles now here as long as the above conditions continue. The Golos Rodini is publishing libelous, insulting and disgusting lies about the Americans and Rozanov failed to take action. Tell the Foreign Minister that unless action is taken at once I shall close the paper and arrest the editors. This will be done because there is practically no authority here willing to act in protecting American soldiers from these insults.

An occasion of open rupture finally occurred with Semenov's troops, but the fall of the Omsk Government and the resultant revolution which spread over the Far East eliminated the Kolchak agents as well as American unpopularity.

In addition to the force of 8,500 troops, the United States sent to Siberia a group of railway experts, in charge of J. F. Stevens, who were to assist in the restoration of the Trans-Siberian railways. When the inter-allied railway agreement was promulgated in February, 1919, the employment of this technical advice was provided for, and an attempt was made to co-ordinate the widely different functions of the Allies.

By virtue of this plan an Interallied Railway Committee was provided to superintend a Military Transportation Board, which co-ordinated the transportation of allied troops, and a Technical Committee for expert advice in the operation of the railway systems and shops. The road was to be guarded in sectors by Chinese, Japanese, and American troops, while all the allies represented were to share in the expense of this arrangement and pay for the movement of their soldiers. This cost the United States over \$4,500,000 and we were the only power to fulfill our financial agreement. China made a small payment, Japan a larger proportional part, and the other allies practically nothing.

It was intended that the Trans-Siberian should function for the benefit of the entire population without reference to the Omsk Government or other political affiliations, but by means of station commandants and regional boards, the Russians retained control of the cars and, from the terminals, regulated the character and destination of shipments. As a result, only commodities for Kolchak, or the Cossack leaders in the east, were permitted, and where private enterprise was concerned the officials prospered in the sale of space. The American railway officials could give advice, but no

measures were ever taken at Omsk to assure that it would be acted upon, and what little our so-called Russian Railway Service accomplished in Siberia is due entirely to the perseverance and ability of its members in the face of almost open opposition by the official class.

The conversion of the railway into a line of supply for the Kolchak army brought allied troops into conflict with the peasants of Eastern Siberia, who became increasingly bitter against the Omsk Government, and in order to assist in its downfall attempted, with some success, to destroy the road under American and Japanese protection. It is regrettable that American troops should have been forced to take the field in defense of the interallied railway agreement, and that such of our soldiers who lost their lives did so indirectly in defense of the Kolchak Government—a Government representing nothing for which America stands.

KOLCHAK'S REACTIONARY EXTREMES

The political character of the Omsk Government remains to be considered. Even had Kolchak's armies been of the most efficient character, his success would have been impossible in view of the wave of opposition which finally swept over the entire population of Siberia, and the reasons for this sentiment against Kolchak furnish the fundamental explanation for his failure.

After the *coup d'état* in November, 1918, when Admiral Kolchak assumed the powers of dictator, the officials returning to office took up their duties almost with timidity, as the revolution had engendered a fear of the people in their hearts. The peasant was willing to send his sons to fight against the Bolsheviks, as he was convinced that the new Government meant an end to the forced requisition, murder and brutal treatment which he had suffered during the temporary administration of the Soviets. Had these conditions continued and the protestations of democratic policy been fulfilled, both by the protection of private rights and the recognition of suffrage under the Kerensky law, the support of the people would have been retained with probable success against the Red Government.

As they became more firmly established, however, the army and official class began to exercise their functions in an arbitrary

manner without reference to law, justice, or anything except their personal inclinations. In the beginning those of other political groups than the Omsk Government were permitted to live in Omsk and in the rear of the lines, but in a very short time these persons were arrested and disappeared without any record of trial or even of the arrest. Property rights were absolutely disregarded and requisition became a byword for pillage and personal gain by officers in charge of small detachments.

The brutalities of General Rozanov, who was in charge of the Krasnoyarsk district, and who later assumed command of the Kolchak forces in the Far East, furnish a striking example of the atrocities practiced under the guise of fighting Bolshevism. In pacifying this district, which was generally anti-Kolchak in sympathy, General Rozanov's troops, on entering a village, would demand the name and residence of every partisan, the location of hostile bands and a guide to lead them in a surprise attack. Failing to secure this information, every house was burned, and in the event that the demands were not complied with, every fifth male was shot regardless of age. These practices were by no means confined to this locality, and within 300 versts of Omsk an expedition in charge of a Colonel Francke, who had been interpreter for Colonel Ward, British member of Parliament and lecturer in Siberia, devastated entire villages. On this occasion innumerable girls were raped and one woman, after being made to witness the execution of her father and brother, was stripped of her clothing, tied across a barrel and whipped to such an extent as to necessitate her removal to a hospital; and all this because a male member of the household was suspected of having been implicated in an uprising. In the eastern part of Siberia American offi-

cers examined bodies which bore mute testimony of having had their tongues and finger nails pulled out, and of having been victims of other unspeakable tortures inflicted before death in an endeavor to procure information or to enforce the draft edict of Kolchak. A pogrom against the Jews was carried out in Ekaterinburg in the middle of July, 1919, and anti-Semitic reports place the minimum number of killed at 2,000.

These few examples show the justification for a memorandum published by the Czechs in November, in which the atrocities of the Omsk Government were enumerated and condemned. This document is the more convincing in having emanated from Czech sources, as the Czechs, in their early struggles with the Bolsheviki, acted with the utmost severity, but always in accordance with their regulations, and if property was seized or persons arrested, the order authorizing the action and setting forth the reasons therefor was published.

The Omsk Government relied solely on a military success, and no criticism for their failure to retain the support of a people liberated from the Soviet yoke can be too severe. Recognition of Admiral Kolchak by the Allies would have accomplished nothing unless the powers in so doing placed an army in Central Siberia to maintain his authority—an army which would have been forced to operate, with a precarious line of communications, against practically the entire population of Siberia struggling to achieve the personal liberty which is their right.

It is to be hoped that a true democratic movement will arise in Russia, uniting all elements in a mutual endeavor of sacrifice, and guaranteeing the rights of all classes. Until that time the Soviet Government will prevail.



THE SOVIET PRISONS

By LEO PASVOLSKY

How the Russian Government fills its prisons with the Czar's former rebels—Its treatment of men who belong to other parties and the working of the "hostage" system—Starvation, violence and death the penalties paid for not agreeing with Bolshevik doctrine

THE Red Terror, always mentioned so prominently in all discussions of the Soviet régime, represents the most spectacular of the punitive measures of which the Communist masters of Russia avail themselves, but it is not the most important one. Overwhelmingly gruesome as it is, the Red Terror, nevertheless, is sporadic; at different periods it reaches greater or lesser intensity. But there is one kind of punitive activity which goes on all the time; it is the work of the Soviet prisons.

Under the Soviet system there are two sets of institutions charged with the repression and the punishment of offenses against the Government; both of these make use of the prisons in the course of their work. The first, working on a quasi-judicial basis, is represented by the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow and by the various local tribunals. The second, working entirely on the basis of arbitrary administrative rule, is represented by the "All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating the Counter-Revolution," and by the various local extraordinary commissions.

In the general scheme of Soviet "justice" these two systems are supposed to be quite different and distinct. The tribunals are intended to be permanent and to have charge mostly of criminal cases. The commissions are, theoretically, intended to be temporary institutions, brought into being for the purpose of eradicating any form of activity that may endanger the existence of the Soviet régime. But the work of the two systems, naturally, overlaps very considerably, and in this overlapping of the jurisdiction and the actual work of the revolutionary tribunals and the extraordinary commissions, the latter have by far the greater importance of the two.

In actual practice, the extraordinary com-

missions hear both the criminal and the political cases of any considerable importance; or rather, they often dispose of such cases without even a pretense of a trial. Acquittal by the revolutionary tribunal seldom constitutes immunity from the long arm of the extraordinary commission. In Russia's everyday life the word "Tche-kah" (an abbreviation of the words "Tchrezvychaynaya Kommissia," the Russian equivalent for the words "extraordinary commission") has already acquired a significance of unprecedented dread and horror; it is a nightmare of Russian life, the memory of which will, undoubtedly, long outlive that of the whole Soviet régime and the rest of its work.

BLOODY WORK OF THE "TCHE-KAH"

The "Tche-kah" is the instrument of the Red Terror, which is a system of executions, without any process of law or even a perfunctory procedure of a trial. Persons arrested on suspicion of counter-revolutionary activity, in most cases as a result of denunciation, and thrown into the prisons controlled by the "Tche-kah," are usually considered by those about them as practically doomed. Their liberation from the clutches of the "Tche-kah" is regarded as almost a miracle; so few escape death at the hands of the hangmen.

The extraordinary commissions were organized early in the existence of the Soviet régime, and their bloody work has proceeded uninterrupted ever since. The direction of this work, in its larger ramifications, is in the hands of the President of the All-Russian Commission, a Pole named Felix Dzerzhinsky, and of his two principal assistants, Peters and Latsis, both Letts. These names are now universally known throughout the country, and have become symbols of cruelty and ruthlessness. Besides these, each local extraordinary com-

mission has its own little Dzerzhinsky or Latsis.

Capital punishment, the "supreme penalty" in the terminology of Soviet jurisprudence, was introduced in Soviet Russia early in 1918. It continued in existence officially, in the form of ordinary process of "law," and particularly in the form of the Red Terror, until February, 1920, when it was temporarily suspended. In a report published at that time, the "Tche-kah" announced the number of executions during the years 1918 and 1919 as 9,641. This figure covers the activities of only the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. How many persons were destroyed in the sinister shadows of the local commissions no one knows and, most probably, no one will ever know.

TREACHEROUS EXECUTIONS

Whatever the statistics of the Red Terror during the period of its greatest intensity, on Feb. 15, 1920, capital punishment was officially suspended. But the night of Feb. 15-16 was truly a night of St. Bartholomew for most of the "Tche-kah" prisons. Boris Sokolov, a prominent revolutionist, who recently escaped from Russia, states that on that night "all the prisons of Soviet Russia were flushed with blood. On the wall of a special "Tche-kah" prison, when he was incarcerated there, Sokolov read an inscription that ran as follows: "The night of the suspension of capital punishment became a night of blood."

A statement of the prisoners kept in the Moscow prison of Butyrki, dated May 5, 1920, reads: "On the night following the issuing of the suspension decree seventy-two persons were shot in our prison." The number of victims in Petrograd that night is estimated at 400. A letter from the Saratov prison, dated June 5, 1920, states: "It was a frightful night. From midnight on the whole prison reverberated with the shrieks and wails of the women who were led out to execution. And the most fearful part of it was that we all knew about the decree. Altogether fifty-two persons were shot that night."

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

But these treacherous executions were not the only feature of the activities of the "Tche-kah" after the official suspension of

the death penalty. According to the suspension decree, capital punishment was abolished for all of Soviet Russia, except the war zone. And so on April 15, 1920, the following circular order, signed by the Chairman of the Special Division of the All-Russian Commission, Yagoza, was sent to all the Presidents of extraordinary commissions:

Secret. Circular. To Presidents of Extraordinary Commissions, Special Divisions: In view of the suspension of capital punishment, you are instructed to transfer all persons held for crimes which call for the supreme penalty to the war zone, since the suspension decree does not affect that territory.

This arrangement, however cumbersome and difficult at best because of the lack of transportation facilities, soon became unnecessary. A short time after this order was issued practically the whole of Soviet Russia (twenty-nine provinces, including that of Moscow) was declared under military law, and the decree suspending capital punishment became a dead letter. The death penalty was re-established on May 24. The Moscow *Izvestiya* in its issue No. 115 reported that from Jan. 17 to May 20, i. e., during the period of the suspension of the "supreme penalty," the number of executions was 521. Toward the end of the year 1920 the Red Terror became more and more intense. During the first ten days of 1921 (Jan. 1 to 10) the number of executions officially reported was 347; the actual number, again, cannot be known.

So much for the executions and the Red Terror proper. But, as stated above, the ruthless deeds of these extraordinary commissions, alike in Moscow and in the provinces, are sporadic and are not the incubus that weighs most heavily on the lives of the Russian people. The maladministration of the prison system is far more serious.

SOVIET PRISONS CROWDED

The Soviet régime is not only using all the prisons existing under the Czar, but has found it necessary to utilize for prison purposes such buildings as empty factories, and even schools. The number of persons kept in prison by the punitive and repressive agencies of the Soviet Government is greater than ever before in Russia's history. If a future historian seeks for evidence of

the Soviet régime's lack of popularity in Russia, he will find excellent indications of it in the fact that the Soviet rulers have been compelled not only to fill beyond their utmost capacity the prison buildings of the imperial régime, but to seek space elsewhere for a huge overflow of prisoners. The imperial Government, symbolized by the Czar and his bureaucracy, who frankly arrayed themselves against the people, never had so many enemies and never required so many places of incarceration for their victims as the Soviet Government of today, symbolized by the communist leaders, who arrogate to themselves the supreme privilege of being the only spokesmen for the Russian people.

The Soviet régime has far outstripped its imperial predecessor, not only in the extent of its prison activities, but also in the frightfulness of the conditions under which the prisoners are forced to live. Many of Lenin's victims, incarcerated as enemies of his régime, had precisely the same status with regard to the Czar's régime, and, until the revolution of March, 1917, were inmates of the imperial prisons. Their testimony, as well as other documentary evidence, is now available to give a more or less connected picture of the system of prison administration that exists in Soviet Russia today.

SUFFERINGS OF PRISONERS

According to well authenticated data, during the third year of the Soviet régime alone 145,000 persons were arrested and imprisoned, an average of nearly 12,000 a month. What are the conditions of life for them in the Soviet prisons?

The most important of the political prisons in Soviet Russia is the Butyrski prison in Moscow, famous under the imperial régime. It is filled to capacity, and most of those confined there are well-known Socialist, labor and anarchist leaders. A group of anarchists imprisoned there recently addressed a declaration to the anarchists of Europe, in which they state that no Government on earth has ever treated anarchists so inhumanly as does the Soviet Government. Men are arrested merely for their convictions; in prison they are beaten, insulted, often shot without any provocation whatever. The declaration is signed by sixty-one prisoners.

On May 1, 1920, a group of 212 Socialists and anarchists, all prisoners in the Butyrski

prison, addressed a statement to Socialists of the world, in which they said:

We protest against the insolent deception which the Bolsheviki attempt to foist on the proletariat of Western Europe. * * * They do in prisons what the Czar's Government never did, but just before the arrival of foreign delegations in March most of the Socialists in the Butyrski prison were transferred to Siberia in irons.

This is the system in the Moscow prison; in the provinces it is infinitely worse. In the prison of Samara anarchist prisoners were beaten unmercifully, put in irons, &c., for the slightest trace of insubordination. A man who had been incarcerated in the Odessa "Tche-kah" prison, in a recently published pamphlet gave a shocking description of the things he saw there. The Odessa prisons were already overcrowded, and the "Tche-kah" was using a school building for its purposes. The most important personage in this prison was a Lett named Abash, a former sailor, who was in command of the "garrison," and personally did the work of the executions. Whenever he was drunk or under the influence of cocaine, at which times he was particularly noisy and overbearing, the whole prison knew that he was preparing for his work, which he performed in the cellar of one of the outbuildings.

A CRY FROM THE HEART

K. Alenin, the author of this pamphlet, tells the following incident, which is extremely characteristic of the prison situation. Among those in the "Tche-kah" prison at that time were two prominent local labor leaders, who had been arrested for agitation against the Soviet régime. Even the dreaded "Tche-kah" did not dare to execute these two men, but merely kept them behind bars, while its agents made daily overtures to them to set them free, provided they promised to desist from their agitation. Both refused. One day, hearing from other prisoners the stories which Abash, when partly under the influence of liquor or cocaine, was fond of telling concerning the secrets of his cellar, the elder of the two labor leaders exclaimed:

And the worst of it is that all this is done in the name of Socialism! And we, the old militants for the people's freedom, who spent the best years of our lives in the struggle, who gave up our families, our personal happiness, everything, did all that in order to

behold now this communist paradise! * * * What have they given the workmen? Bread? No! Work? No! They have crowded all sorts of thieves into their institutions of government, and they steal everything on which they can lay their hands, wear diamond rings, squander huge sums of money for their carousals. They are the



(Times Wide World Photos)

FELIX DZERZHINSKY

President of the Extraordinary Commission, from Mrs. Clare Sheridan's recent bust

builders, they are the teachers. And I, who have suffered for thirty years in the struggle for the happiness of men, I am a "counter-revolutionist!" Abash is a Socialist, and I am a counter-revolutionist! But, of course, I am a counter-revolutionist. We don't want such a revolution as this. May it be accursed, this revolution of yours!

THE "HOSTAGE" SYSTEM

A set of documents, similarly descriptive of another Soviet prison, that of Yaroslavl, was recently published by the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party. These documents are concerned with the condition of sixty-three prominent members of that party, incarcerated in the Yaroslavl Central Prison, also made famous under the imperial régime as one of the important political prisons. Six of these prisoners had done penal servitude under the imperial régime; fifteen had been exiled to Siberia by the Czar's Government. One of them escaped from Siberia in 1914 in order to enlist in the army, but was caught in Moscow and sent back to Siberia to a prison there, from which he was released only by the

March revolution. Another had seen imprisonment in five of the most terrible of the imperial prisons. Six of these prisoners are members of the Russian Constituent Assembly, dispersed by the Bolsheviks.

Most of these prisoners do not even know why they were arrested or how long they will remain in prison. In response to their inquiries on this score some of them were told that they would remain in prison "until the end of the civil war"; some "until the end of the war with Poland." Some were even told that they would be kept in prison "until the arrest of Victor Chernov." [See below.] In reality, they are kept in prison because they are members of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, the most formidable opponent of the Soviet régime. Most of them are kept as hostages in the struggle which this régime conducts against its enemies.

The wives of several of the prisoners were offered the position of agents of the extraordinary commissions and the reward promised for this was the liberation of their husbands. In many cases the prisoners' relatives are arrested, tortured for information and held as hostages. The mention of Chernov's name in connection with these prisoners has reference to an incident of this kind.

THE CASE OF CHERNOV

Victor Chernov, one of the most prominent leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, was the President of the Constituent Assembly. Until the beginning of 1920 he was working in disguise in many parts of Russia. At the time when the British labor delegation visited Moscow Chernov appeared at a meeting of the Moscow printers, called in honor of the British guests, and, disguised as an old man, delivered a scathing attack against the Soviet régime. His identity was discovered, but he succeeded in making his escape. Failing to find Chernov, whose arrest was of course immediately ordered, the agents of the "Tche-kah" arrested his wife and his two daughters, aged 17 and 12. During their search for Chernov the agents were informed that he would appear at a certain meeting. They took his younger daughter to this meeting and tried to intimidate her into finding her father for them.

Chernov is now in Paris, and the state-

ment that his family will be kept prisoners in the Yaroslavl prison until his arrest is an apt illustration of the "Tche-kah" methods.

PUNISHMENT BY STARVATION

Until Aug. 12, 1920, most of these prisoners were kept in the Moscow Butyrski prison, some as long as eighteen months. Late in July they began to demand from the agents of the "Tche-kah" that a group of other Socialist-Revolutionists, held in appalling conditions of life in a prison attached to the Special Division of the Extraordinary Commission, be transferred to the Butyrki. Their demand was refused and on Aug. 11 they declared a hunger strike, to begin the following morning. But on the evening of Aug. 11 a detachment of special troops, consisting of Magyars and Letts, appeared in the prison, and it was announced to the prisoners that all the Socialists would be transferred to other prisons. They were ordered to pack their things immediately. The prisoners refused to obey the order, demanding first an interview with a special agent of the "Tche-kah." But the agent refused to appear, and the prisoners were taken out by force. They resisted, but were overwhelmed. Even those among them who were patients at the hospital were dragged out of bed and taken to the Yaroslavl prison.

When brought to Yaroslavl, a series of punitive measures was applied to them. In a statement sent by these prisoners to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, as well as to the Central Committees of all the Socialist and Communist Parties and of the Third International, under date of Sept. 23, 1920, these punitive measures were enumerated as follows:

They were forbidden to receive visits from their relatives. Until Sept. 20 they were not permitted to communicate with their relatives. Only once were they permitted to receive packages of food and clothing from their relatives, but very few of these relatives were informed of the time when the packages would be transmitted, and only a small number of prisoners received help from the outside. These packages were transmitted by a representative of the Political Red Cross on Sept. 8; after that date he was allowed access to the prison.

The prisoners were refused permission to receive any newspapers or books. Most prisoners were kept in solitary confinement; in some cases two men were placed in a cell designed for solitary confinement. They were not permitted to communicate with

each other, and for some time, during their short walks in the prison yard, were kept five steps apart all the time. They were not permitted to go to the toilets, but special receptacles were provided in the cells. The air in the cells was sickening, but prisoners were not permitted to approach the windows, as the guards had orders to shoot any one looking out of the windows.

The food given to the prisoners was in smaller quantities than in Moscow and was utterly insufficient for nutrition. Prevented from obtaining assistance from the outside, the prisoners were doomed to slow starvation. They were placed in a situation in which they could not buy anything for themselves. As one of the punishments for the "obstruction" during the transfer from the Moscow prison, they were fined 100,000 rubles, and all the money they had was taken away from them.

REPROACH FOR COMMUNISTS

In connection with this statement, the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party addressed an open letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which read as follows:

Your party is in power. You do not conceal this fact, but, on the contrary, do everything in your power to emphasize it in the work of all the institutions of the Soviet régime. This means that you bear full responsibility for everything that is done in the name and by the will of the Soviet Government. At the present time, in the city of Yaroslavl, in the Soviet House for the Deprivation of Liberty, over the gates of which there is a sign that reads "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic," while above it is the old sign, "The Yaroslavl Penal Prison"—in this Socialist prison over sixty persons are tortured by means of starvation, all of them imprisoned for precisely the same reason for which they suffered imprisonment under the imperial régime, viz., the mere fact of being members of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party. * * *

But if the insults and acts of violence, the deprivation of light and air, the orders to fire on the windows of the cells are a repetition, perhaps in a more accentuated form, of the methods used by the prison wardens of the Czar's régime, the torture by means of starvation is, surely, an innovation of the Socialist prison.

The amount of food received by the prisoners in Yaroslavl is less than the norms which your own food supply institutions have established as starvation norms. * * * You will, perhaps, explain this by the difficulties experienced by you because of the food crisis. But if this were so, then your political police would not prevent the relatives and friends of the prisoners from sending them assistance. At the price of huge sacrifices, the relatives of the prisoners have organized assistance for them, but the agents

of your extraordinary commission have arranged the conditions of the deliveries in such a way that packages were delivered only on two occasions in two months. An attempt was made to send the prisoners money to enable them to purchase the things they need, but the prison administration chose to accept only a certain amount, which was immediately confiscated in order to cover the alleged cost of the damages caused during the transfer of the prisoners to Yaroslavl. * * *

Why do you need all this? Do not justify yourselves on the ground that you do not know of this. You do know, you cannot but know what is done in Yaroslavl in the glory of your name. The President of the Council of People's Commissaries, Lenin; the President of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, Kallnin, and many others among you were personally informed of this.

With the hands of your hangmen in the Communist torture chamber of your Yaroslavl

prison you are making efforts to finish secretly the work that was left undone by the henchmen of the Czar, to destroy through torture of starvation the old militants for Socialism and the revolution.

We demand from you consistency and courage. If you decline responsibility for the torture by starvation in the Yaroslavl prison, then put an end to it. But if you have decided to carry it to its logical end, then have the courage to admit openly that in your Soviet prisons, under the guise of imprisonment, you practice a system of slow and inhumanly painful murder.

When such are the measures of self-preservation that the Soviet régime utilizes, is there any wonder that the hatred of it on the part of the Russian people is so intense as to be almost frenzied, and that the numberless thousands of its foes swell so appallingly the ranks of its victims?

LENIN'S FIGHT FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

How the Moscow dictator obtained a de facto recognition of the Bolshevik Government from Great Britain—Confirmed by the English Courts—Domestic reforms in Soviet policy pushed through despite all opposition

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

SOVIET RUSSIA'S triumph in obtaining a trade treaty with Great Britain was considerably enhanced in May by a decision of the British Court of Appeals recognizing as legal the Bolshevik Government's confiscation of private property in Russia. After Great Britain's removal of restrictions on exports to Russia, large English firms immediately began to reach out tentatively for Russian trade. The crucial test, however, was yet to come. In the Russo-British Trade Agreement, signed in London on March 16, Article 13 gave the Moscow Government the right to terminate the agreement summarily in the event that the British courts decided adversely regarding its right of confiscation. Underlying this paragraph was the contention of the Soviet Government that it could not do business with Great Britain if its deposits of gold, transferred to cover its commercial transactions, remained subject to attachment by the creditors of Russia, or similarly if its right to dispose of any confiscated

property should not be upheld by the British courts.

The test case chosen to decide the issue was that entitled "Luther vs. Sagor." Suit had been brought by A. M. Luther as the English representative of a Russian company which owned a veneer factory at Staraja, in the Government of Novgorod. Soviet agents confiscated the mill, and finished the products under the 1918 decree, and in 1920 Krassin's delegation in London sold some of the veneer, or plywood, to James Sagor & Co. Luther then sued the Sagor firm to recover for his principals both the plywood and damages.

This case was decided on May 12 in favor of the Soviet Government. The Court of Appeals held that the Soviet Government—by virtue of the trade treaty—was now recognized by the British Government as the de facto Government of Russia, and that in consequence the English courts had no authority to interfere with the Bolshevik confiscatory decrees.

The court decision made it clear that two main issues must be decided—whether the Government whose property rights were contested was recognized as a sovereign Government by the British Government, and whether such rights could be contested on moral grounds, as incompatible with the moral and political principles upheld by the United Kingdom. The salient passages of the decision on these points are given below:

Further, the courts in deciding the question whether a particular person is a sovereign, must be guided only by the statement of the sovereign on whose behalf they exercise jurisdiction. As was said by this court in the case of *Mighell vs. Sultan of Johore*, "Whenever there is the authoritative certificate of the King through his Minister of State as to the status of another sovereign, that in the courts of this country is decisive." In the present case we have from the Foreign Office a recognition of the Soviet Republic in 1921 as the *de facto* Government, and a statement that in 1917 the Soviet authorities expelled the previous Government recognized by his Majesty. It appears to me that this binds us to recognize the decree of 1918 by a department of the Soviet Government, and the sale in 1920 by the Soviet Republic of property claimed by them to be theirs under that decree, as acts of a sovereign State, the validity of which cannot be questioned by the courts of this country unless it is possible to do so for the second reason argued before us—incompatibility with the moral and political policy of the United Kingdom. * * *

Regarding this second argument, the Court expressed its views as follows:

It remains to consider the argument that the English courts should refuse to recognize the Soviet legislation and titles derived under it as confiscatory and unjust. * * * But it appears a serious breach of international comity if a State is recognized as a sovereign independent State to postulate that its legislation is "contrary to essential principles of justice and morality." Such an allegation might well, with a susceptible foreign Government, become a *casus belli*, and should in my view be the action of the sovereign through his Ministers and not of the Judges in reference to a State which their sovereign has recognized.

This decision, based on these salient features, and backed by an imposing documentation of legal precedents, was hailed by Moscow with jubilation, as it not only upheld the Soviet rights in the case in question, but provided security for the future in all similar cases. The Bolsheviks also made capital out of the British court's con-

firmation of their status as a recognized *de facto* Government. With this legal impediment removed, the Moscow Government found its way open to the full resumption of commercial relations with Great Britain, though from certain statements made by Leonid Krassin, the Russian who negotiated the treaty, it had no immediate hope of much trade. Krassin late in May was in Berlin, arranging detailed plans for the resumption of trade with Germany, which he declared to be much more important for Russia's prosperity than that which would follow the agreement with Great Britain.

Although Krassin reported trade progress with Belgian, Dutch and Scandinavian interests, the one great country to whose trade potentialities the Moscow dictators looked with a longing eye—the United States—still remained outside the enchanted ring of Bolshevik persuasion. Krassin, it is true, declared that 600,000 pairs of boots had been bought privately in America at a price only slightly exceeding \$3 a pair; also an unspecified amount of coal and some 2,000 tons of rope. The American Government, however, after the advent of the new Administration, showed itself as averse to any step toward recognition as the Wilson régime had been. Copies of the Soviet official organ, *Izvestia*, received in this country on May 16, showed the extent of the Moscow Government's disappointment. One article said in part:

The essence of the Washington answer is that the resumption of commerce with Russia will be possible only after we have returned to a bourgeois régime. This is pure nonsense. The English bourgeoisie who have signed a trade agreement with us did not consider this change necessary. We did not propose to the Americans to change their capitalistic régime for a communistic one.

After various speculations regarding the real reasons behind Secretary Hughes's inflexible letter of refusal, the article concluded thus: "Little by little the industrial interests of America will predominate and will force the Government of the United States to change its policy toward Soviet Russia."

Intimately connected with the Soviet's plans for reopening trade relations with the world was Lenin's scheme for giving concessions in Russia to foreign enterprises willing to exploit and develop the country's vast economic resources. No con-

cessions have yet been actually given—not even those for which Mr. Washington B. Vanderlip, the American promoter, is negotiating. The rebuff of the Soviet by Secretary Hughes apparently had an unfavorable influence not only on Mr. Vanderlip's pending concessions in Kamchatka, but also on a new project to obtain 10,000,000 acres of timber land in the Archangel district.

Meanwhile Lenin continued his own plans for Soviet reform. He won complete approval for his new policies at the final session of the All-Russian Trade Union Congress held in Moscow on May 27. At his behest the Central Council of Labor and Defense was empowered to name a committee for the execution of the reforms outlined, notable among which was the return to capitalistic methods in the free exchange of goods, with other measures devised to satisfy the discontented peasants. Especially important was the fact that Lenin conceded the Labor Unions' right to co-operate in naming this committee, which will work out details with the Labor Council. This recognition by Lenin of the influence of the trade unions in Russia had the effect of bringing into power a body of Socialists who have rejected the extreme communism of the Third International and who are closely allied in theory with the International Trade Union Federation, whose headquarters are in Amsterdam. Only last Summer Lenin denounced this group and its activities, but large numbers of workmen in Russia are said to be supporting it and demanding a share in the control of industrial affairs of the country.

The new decrees sanctioning free trade had no visible effect in overcoming the food shortage, which was reported as serious, especially in Moscow. Soviet papers continued to complain of rampant speculation and jobbery under free trade. This was especially noticeable on the streets of Petrograd. The trains also were packed with speculators bringing back large quantities of food, and riding without ticket or without leave. The Soviet leaders were becoming more and more convinced that the situation could be served only by a system of exchange based on co-operation. The peasants were holding on to their grain for seed purposes, and governmental commis-

sions sent to the villages outside Moscow had returned empty handed. The Government's hope that it might secure a supply of flour from the Caucasus ended in disappointment, as several million poods of corn had been destroyed by rebellious elements in that region.

Unmoved by these setbacks, Lenin, supported strongly by his chief lieutenant, Milutin, the Soviet Secretary of Agriculture, pushed through his whole program of reform at the congress of the Communist Party, which closed its sessions in Moscow on May 31. Zinoviev, the Soviet Governor of Petrograd, and head of the faction opposed to reforms, accepted the new plans in grim silence. The policy outlined by Lenin and Milutin consisted of the following salient features:

The peasants to pay one-third of their grain to the Government as a State tax. They are empowered to dispose of the remaining two-thirds through the newly restored co-operative societies. All forcible requisitions of peasant grain to cease.

The largest industries, such as the leather, salt and textile industries, as well as the means of transportation, to remain in the hands of the Government. The factories to be speeded up to supply the peasants' needs and the workmen to be stimulated to greater productivity by a bonus system. The trade unions to supervise the work of these industries and to fix the wage scale.

The co-operative societies and private industries to be aided and encouraged by the Government in every way by financial subsidies, by the leasing of factories to the smaller industries, and by strict holding of the Government officials in charge to efficient administration. The trade unions to fix the wage scale also for these smaller industries. The Government to have the right of inspection.

The co-operative societies to be similarly stimulated and encouraged. All hindrances to free trade to be removed.

By no means reassuring to the agriculturists was the requisition for 1921, under the guise of a "tax in kind," of 2,200,000 poods (36,000 tons) of butter, all of which must be delivered by Nov. 1, under penalty of prosecution.

Neither the success of the Government in securing a trade agreement with Great Britain nor its theoretical sanction of concessions, nor its announcement of reforms at home, had any effect in placating the conservative Russian elements abroad. A congress of Russian manufacturers and business men which closed its sessions in

Paris on May 24 passed thirteen resolutions attacking the Soviet régime bitterly as an undemocratic and unrepresentative Government, denouncing the trade agreement as an instrument of further depletion of Russian gold, and warning all foreign capitalists that concessions granted by Lenin would not be recognized by the future legitimate Government of Russia.

Lenin and Trotzky also have active enemies nearer home, as indicated by their systematic drive against the anarchists. There is a grim irony in a document sent to German syndicalists by the Russian anarchists, headed by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, both of whom the United States deported to Russia, denouncing the Soviet régime in violent terms, com-

plaining that Lenin had declared bitter war upon them, and was throwing them into prison by the hundreds, and appealing to their German comrades to publish the Soviet's misdeeds in all anarchist journals. All the anarchists who signed this appeal, with the exception of Goldman, Berkman, and one other, were in prison at the time the document was sent. The disillusion of the ex-Americans with the Soviet Government, which before their deportation they extolled in unmeasured terms, has long been known.

Recent events in Siberia, notably the seizure of Vladivostok by the forces of the late General Kappel, a former Kolchak leader, will be treated more fully in these pages next month.

FINLAND AS LEADER OF THE BALTIC STATES

Steady, prosperous and full of youthful energy, she calls herself the "Resolute Outpost of Western Civilization"—Lithuania still at swords' points with Poland over Vilna

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

WHAT Finland is today," said the Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs not long ago, "the Baltic States will be fifty years from now." Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania are still enmeshed in the economic and political difficulties of the war's aftermath. With envious eyes the little Baltic States look across the water at the big and prosperous democracy established by Finland, which, after enjoying practically fifty years of freedom under the lax rule of the Russian Dukes, won her independence soon after the outbreak of the Russian revolution, had that independence as a sovereign State early confirmed by the allied powers, and was thus enabled to devote her energies to the task of developing her resources.

Across the deep blue waters of the Baltic the Finns can still see the great bulk of Kronstadt rising dimly on the horizon line, with the smoke from the crippled Soviet factories; but the long line of Summer villas, once filled with Summer residents from Petrograd, is now almost deserted.

Only a few villas are inhabited by the Russians, who have lost their all in the great overturn; the rest are closed and forlorn. At night those who live by the shore can hear the booming of the Kronstadt sunset guns—a sound of ominous import, especially to the 4,000 interned Russian refugees from Kronstadt, who fled across the ice when Trotzky's force took the citadel and crushed the rebellion of the sailors there.

Dr. John Finley, an American educator, who has been making an extended tour of the Baltic States, especially Finland, and who has sent from there a series of thoughtful and illuminative articles, noted in Finland a native energy and progressiveness which made him think of America. Dr. Finley wrote in May:

What strikes surprisingly and impressively a stranger, who has a schoolbook association between Finns and slant-eyed Lapps, is that Finland, for a century and more a part of Russia and separated from her physically by only a crooked imaginary line, is, after all, markedly and progressively Western.

She calls herself the "resolute outpost of western civilization," and it is somewhat humiliating that the United States was not the first to recognize her political independence.

Yet Finland is eager to resume her old economic friendship with Russia, for the present interrupted. The bridge over the Sestrariekka is literally and metaphorically out of repair. And Finland is suffering from this fact; for before the war she got her grain largely from Russia, while Russia came to her for lumber and paper. So Finland has had to find other markets, but under greatest hardships because of the rate of exchange.

Finland has, however, the pulse and what the doctors would call the "blood pressure" of youth. There is no coal in Finland, but there is a splendid circulatory system of rivers and lakes (about 35,000) with an available horse power of 3,000,000, that is, approximately one horse power per person. It is expected that before long all the railroads will be electrified, using water power.

Finland was temperate even before prohibition was enacted. The Minister of Foreign Affairs told me that the consumption before the war was only one liter per person per year. Ninety per cent. of the land area is covered by trees, and the State owns a large share of all the forest land (32,000,000 of the nearly 50,000,000 acres).

The people are many of them tall, straight and lithe, as if they had come out of their forests of tall, straight pines. They are still what James Lane Allen would call forest-bodied and forest-minded. Their system of education is such that there is a smaller percentage of illiterates in Finland than in any other country of the world except possibly Denmark. And the education of the children and youth includes physical, musical and vocational training. In visiting the schools I found that studies had been made of our methods of physical and health education in the United States and especially in New York, and also of our plans for school buildings.

The Government makes subventions in support of the theatre and opera, and censors moving pictures and forbids cabarets. It gives special scholarships for advanced study in music, art, architecture, the drama and other subjects. It maintains a university with 3,000 students and is about to establish another university. It has the enterprise of a Middle Western State; and when one enters the harbors or the "Grand Central Station" of its capital, Helsingfors, one can easily imagine one's self in Minneapolis, St. Paul or Kansas City. Only Helsingfors is cleaner than any American city that I have seen of its size.

Finland is leading a movement to draw the Baltic nations together. It has already established close contact with Latvia, which sent to Finland early in May a special

delegation of members of the Lettish Constituent Assembly. The project of a Baltic union, which Finland strongly favors, was enthusiastically discussed both privately and in the Finnish press. The other Baltic States, with this view, are also drawing together, and even Poland has evinced a desire to draw closer to her sister republics on the Baltic. That the Baltic States are serious in this project of alliance is indicated by the recent announcement of a conference of the Foreign Ministers of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, to be held at Riga (Latvia) before the end of June.

One dissonant note in the general Baltic harmony was the dispute between Lithuania and Poland over the disputed territory of Vilna. Both the Poles and the Lithuanians are unshakable in their respective claims, and the conferences initiated at Brussels, under the Presidency of M. Paul Hymans, gave no sign as they went on that a solution would be found. The Lithuanians were convinced that they were the natural and rightful inheritors of the territory now held by the Polish insurgent leader, General Zeligowski, the legitimate heirs of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The majority of Poles, not only those resident in Vilna, but those of Poland, refused to admit that Lithuania had any rights, and insisted that Vilna, with its large number of Polish inhabitants, should be annexed to Poland. The Lithuanian and Polish delegates in Brussels naturally reflected this attitude, and from the beginning of the negotiations, late in April, it was only too evident that the two disputing parties held wholly irreconcilable views. The Poles rejected all solutions which implied Lithuania's possession of Vilna. Lithuania presented a formal series of proposals at the session of May 20. These proposals may be summarized as follows:

Poland recognizes the sovereignty of the democratic Republic of Lithuania over Vilna and its territory.

Should the principal allied and associated powers decide to assign the territory of Memel to Lithuania, Poland agrees to recognize the sovereignty of Lithuania over the said territory.

In order to guarantee the cultural autonomy of the Polish-speaking Lithuanian citizens of the territory of Vilna, Lithuania agrees to conclude a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers on the basis of

the principles contained in the treaty of June 28, 1919, between those powers and Poland.

Lithuania assures Poland free access to the sea by all railways and waterways, and to this end undertakes to conclude a transit agreement with Poland.

Lithuania and Poland agree to be guided in their reciprocal relations by the principles contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations or established subsequently to that Covenant by the said League.

These proposals were rejected by the Polish delegates, who opposed all solutions implying the possession of Vilna by the Lithuanians. Seeing that the views of the delegations were irreconcilable, M. Hymans, as President of the sessions, presented a plan of his own, devised to solve not only the boundary questions, but also the political, military and economic relations between the two countries. The intervention of M. Hymans brought some new hope, but on June 2 the note of discouragement and reserve sounded by Professor Askenazy, head of the Polish delegation, proved itself to be based on realities, for on that date the Lithuanian representative in Washington announced officially that the negotiations had been broken off. His advice alleged that the Poles were to blame for this rupture, which had been caused by the Polish insistence that the conference should be attended by delegates from Vilna

itself, who should have equal rights with the other delegates. The Lithuanians refused to consider this proposal, saying that as Vilna was under the domination of Zeligowski, any delegates sent by him would inevitably vote for Poland, and the Lithuanian delegates would be outnumbered. The Lithuanians were preparing to lay the whole issue before the Council of the League of Nations.

Two of the Baltic republics, Esthonia and Latvia, have been recognized *de jure* by the allied powers. Lithuania is still clamoring for such recognition, and considers herself unjustly treated in that such recognition is still withheld. It is unlikely that her national aspirations will be granted until her boundary dispute with Poland has been settled. The United States Government, so far, has declined to recognize any of the Baltic States except Finland. A strong movement in the United States tending toward such recognition was evidenced on May 16, when Representative Walter M. Chandler of New York presented to Secretary of State Hughes a memorandum embodying vigorous arguments in favor of the recognition of all three States. A special appeal was submitted to President Harding on May 31, signed by more than 1,000,000 names, many of them those of men of national and official prominence.

HINDENBURG'S STATUE FOR FIREWOOD

ABOUT a year ago the colossal wooden statue of Germany's military idol, General von Hindenburg, disappeared overnight from its place at the end of Berlin's famous Siegesallee (Avenue of Victory) in the Thiergarten. The day before it had towered, grotesquely impressive in its bigness and its bristling armor of nails, every one of which it had cost some Hindenburg admirer a certain number of pfennige to drive home, the united proceeds going to war charities. The next morning Berlin citizens rubbed their eyes; the Hindenburg statue had disappeared. No one knew what had become of it; there was no official explanation, and this strange disappearance became one of the wonders of the day. Berliners, however, shed no tears over the loss,

for in the days of defeat this grim, ungainly effigy, the most tragic of all reminders, had become an eyesore.

An extraordinary sequel followed toward the end of May, 1921, when an advertisement appeared in a Berlin paper offering the statue for sale, in whole or in part, as firewood. This inglorious ending of the "Iron Hindenburg" seemed to have an almost symbolical fitness. And yet it may be misleading, for many evidences indicate that General von Hindenburg still retains a part of the nimbus which once encircled his massive head, and the new republicans looked with no happy eye on the applause that greeted the General as he marched in the funeral cortège of the late Empress at Potsdam.

NORWAY'S INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

Community Aid, battling with a Bolshevik-led general strike, keeps the chief industries going—Bolshevist plots in Sweden and Denmark—Rapprochement between France and Scandinavian countries.

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

SYMPOMATIC of the industrial condition which has prevailed in Norway ever since the seamen's strike, which began on May 9 and which turned into a general strike two days later, was the arrival of a Norwegian-American Line steamship at Hoboken on June 6 bringing back a 200-ton cargo which the strike had made it impossible to unload in Christiania. The steamer was manned by a volunteer crew which included a millionaire, five captains, fourteen mates and several college students and business men of Norway. These represented the effort of the Community Aid organization to keep necessary industries going in the face of great strikes.

Community Aid had broken the railroad workers' strike, nullifying all efforts to make it general, but it had not been strong enough to prevent the present crisis, though it has gained ground by furnishing more and more social workers.

Before the World War the Norwegian merchant marine was said to operate more cheaply than that of any other nation, and the Norwegian ship owners tried in May to return to their antebellum economies, beginning with a cut in seamen's wages. This started the seamen's strike, and the trade unions of the national labor organization called a general strike in sympathy with the sailors, excepting only the workers of the railroads, telegraphs, postal service, hospitals and the union co-operative concerns. Nearly all newspapers were stopped except the Socialist and Syndicalist journals. The latter, especially the Christiania daily, Klassekampen, continued urging the workmen to revolutionary action, although the labor leaders alleged that the strike was not political.

In the districts of Christiania, Stavanger and Bergen the strikers joined in violent rioting in an attempt to prevent the necessary transportation. Social workers of the Community Aid came forward, volunteering

for service under the protection of the police, who rapidly restored order in each of the three cities named, making many arrests of ringleaders and others. The social workers manned some of the coastwise vessels, but many of the larger craft were so short-handed that motorboats were extensively used to supplement the railroads. Especially in Nordland and other northern provinces, where railroads are lacking, the motorboats were used very effectively for distribution of provisions and other necessary supplies. Here, and in some other provinces, unions refused to join the strike and social workers were numerous.

The dispatch of goods by motorboats was bitterly but vainly opposed by the strikers in Christiania. Social workers manned the harbor industries there, and by the end of May were supplying the population with bread, which hitherto had been made only by the workmen's co-operative concerns for their own use. Strikers attacked the Christiania electrical works, but were dispersed. Early in June social workers were keeping up all the necessary work in Christiania, and, though the strike continued, its effects were not strongly felt there. Off-shore shipping, however, was tied up by a lack of hands.

SWEDEN—The arrest on June 9 of a well-known Bolshevik leader in Kiruna, in the iron-mining district, where a communist organization was discovered, resulted in uncovering what the Stockholm newspapers considered as a sensational and widespread plot for a Bolshevik revolution in Sweden. Several arrests were made in Stockholm in the same connection. The documents discovered were reported to show that this plot was to start a Bolshevik revolution simultaneously in Sweden, Finland and Norway, and to implicate 400 foreign Bolsheviks staying in Sweden. It was expected, at last advices, that these would be arrested

and expelled from the country. Five Finns arrested in Stockholm were found by police records to be former members of the Finnish "Red Guard." One Swede was also arrested.

A rapprochement between France and the Scandinavian countries was foreshadowed by the visit in the latter part of May of a delegation of city councilors of Paris to Stockholm, Christiania, and Copenhagen, to study the municipal institutions of the three Scandinavian capitals. Both the French and Scandinavian press made much of this official visit. The delegation consisted of the President of the Municipal Council of Paris, M. Le Corbeiller, and fourteen representatives of different Paris institutions. Special efforts were made by the Scandinavian authorities to do them honor. On the first day of the week's visit in Stockholm, the city gave a reception and luncheon, and the Grand Governor of Stockholm, acting as host, gave the guests an elaborate speech of welcome. M. Le Corbeiller, in his reply, appealed to Sweden to continue to extend her hand to France for the peace and prosperity of the world. The King gave an afternoon tea in honor of his French guests.

Count Wrangel, the Swedish Foreign Minister, when asked his opinion of the French delegation's visit by a correspondent of *Le Temps*, declared that the Swedish Government had expressed in its reception the friendship felt by all classes of the Swedish people for France. Sweden, he said, had been forced to maintain neutrality in the war, owing to her geographical position. Questioned as to Sweden's actual policy toward Soviet Russia, Count Wrangel answered:

We are trying, as far as possible, to establish commercial relations with Russia. We have not yet concluded a treaty like the Anglo-Russian, but we have no objection to seeing our commercial men establish trade relations with agents here. Before extending such relations we wish to see the results of private negotiations between our merchants and the agents. Our geographical position is different from England's, and it is necessary for us to be more careful about the propaganda of communism.

The Swedish press continued to show excitement over the report of the Aland Islands Commission. Nearly all the papers declared that the document violates all considerations of justice. *Aftonbladet* (Stockholm) headed an article: "Finland's Guar-

antee Worth Nothing—A Slap in the Face, Say the Alanders—Future Will Show What Aland Is Exposed To." *Tidningen*: "This lamentable document surpasses all that could have been believed possible in abandonment of juridical principles in favor of political opportunism. * * * Other papers declared that the report does not give the last word, and contrasted it with the report of the three Judges, who "recognized the solid basis of the Swedish thesis."

Sweden's recent abolition of capital punishment goes further than Norway's similar legislation fifteen years ago, which reserved the death penalty for Cabinet Ministers, as a guarantee against their recklessly committing offenses against the State, such as embroiling it in a bloody war unjustly.

M. Hammarskjöld, the Swedish Minister of Defense, resigned in the middle of May, because the Riksdag passed a bill limiting the period of military service to 165 days instead of 225 days, as he proposed.

DENMARK—Danish Syndicalists decided in May to affiliate themselves with the Third International, as a result of Bolshevik intrigues in Denmark. Social-Democraten (Copenhagen) published new documents proving that all directors of the Syndicalist movement were lavishly subsidized by the Soviet Government of Russia. In the last year the Bolsheviks covered the deficit of a Bolshevik newspaper in Denmark amounting to 312,000 Danish crowns, and expended half a million crowns in Denmark to hold together the Danish adherents to Moscow. The Danish Bolshevik Party, numbering 2,000 adherents, and enjoying no other revenue, has set aside this year 220,000 crowns for propaganda, and also found means to buy a house in the centre of Copenhagen. The Russian Reds have disbursed in all more than 1,500,000 crowns to sustain the Danish opposition.

Great honors were extended to the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, when he arrived in Copenhagen on May 21. About a thousand people received him at the station. The next day he was entertained at the Danish Students' Club, where he gave a reading from his poems to a large audience. Later in the evening the students organized a torchlight procession in his honor. At the invitation of the university, he gave a public lecture on India, and afterward left for Stockholm.

HOW FRANCE CELEBRATED THE NAPOLEON CENTENARY

Premier Briand's successful fight for a vote of confidence is strangely linked up with the nation's mental attitude at the centenary of Napoleon's death

THE vote of confidence given to M. Briand, the Premier, by the French Senate at the session of May 31, was an earnest of the nation's mood to insist on reasonable measures regarding German reparations. M. Briand, who for eight days had fought his opponents face to face and delivered his defense with telling effect, had declared to the Senate his belief that the new German Premier, Dr. Wirth, was absolutely sincere in his desire to live up to the accepted conditions, and that it behooved France, by pursuing a policy of moderation, to aid him to do so. This was the first time since the war that a French Premier had publicly praised the sincerity of a German Government leader. That M. Briand's words were convincing was proved by the fact that after all the attacks only eight Senators dropped the white card of disapproval into the urns, while 269 others dropped in the blue card of approval.

Though M. Briand thus won the Senate's support of his Rhine policy and of his plan of complete co-operation with the interallied nations in Upper Silesia, the general French fear that Germany, after all, was playing a double game and would yet work to make her promises valueless, persisted in the minds of many leaders. War Minister Barthou, it is true, on his return early in June from a tour of inspection of the Rhine armies, declared that he had found the training of the 1921 recruits so far advanced that he looked forward to demobilizing the class of 1919 by the end of June. He added, however: "That is my conviction, provided always that Germany continues to show good-will."

The prevailing uneasiness was reflected in the official speeches at the centenary of Napoleon Bonaparte, which was celebrated in Paris on May 4 and 5. Amid the sombre splendor of Notre Dame, where the great Corsican crowned himself Emperor in 1805, the brilliant ceremonies of the 4th were wit-

nessed by a dense throng of the nation's notables, all gazing up at the throne on which sat the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris in robes of bright scarlet, which blazed out vividly against the dark background. The Abbé Henocque, wearing on his black cassock the symbol of the Legion of Honor and the Croix de Guerre, delivered an eloquent sermon lauding Napoleon as the restorer of religion, and struck the note which was repeated throughout the fête, namely, the lesson of patriotism to be derived from the great Frenchman's career.

The scene shifted in the afternoon to the venerable precincts of the Sorbonne, where a distinguished audience listened to solemn speeches commemorating the civil institutions founded by Napoleon, and expressing France's gratitude. Both of these events, however, were preliminary to the celebrations held the next day at the Arc de Triomphe and the Tomb of Napoleon, in which the Government took a more active part. Standing beside the Unknown Warrior's Tomb, President Millerand eulogized the former Emperor, linking his name with that of the unknown soldier. The days of despotism were over, he said, and France need have no fear in eulogizing Napoleon as one of France's great national glories. He then drew the lesson for the present and the coming time:

Napoleon thought, in September, 1808, that he could cut the claws of the Prussian Army by a military agreement limiting its strength. But he failed to take account of Prussian hypocrisy, of the tenacity of a people which never admits itself to be beaten. Scharnhorst, to avenge Jena, began his labors in 1807. He succeeded so well that the Prussian Army, reduced to 42,000 men by the conditions of the treaty, possessed in August, 1813, no fewer than 280,000 men. By what means? It is useless to find them in the history of yesterday; today's history is sufficient. Prussia has more tenacity than imagination; she has no vain pride in regard to repetition, if repetition as a process suits her ends. Ludendorff is copying Scharn-

horst today, borrowing from him his means of dissimulation, his indirect combinations, his instructions, and even his very language. Vanquished Prussia is preparing, under Ludendorff's orders, the revenge for which it will yet fix the exact moment, and the mingled threat and hope of which it acclaimed at Potsdam. [The funeral of the late Kaiserin is referred to here.] We will not allow her to begin this process all over. Napoleon's mistake should be for us a sufficient lesson. What good would our victory have been for us if victory had not killed during the war the national industry of impenitent Prussia? We do not wish for war; we hate war, annexations, conquests and imperial visions. But it cannot be construed as a wish for war to compel Germany to fulfill the terms of peace by those measures of coercion which her resistance and bad faith, aggravated by her insolence, have made inevitable.

The booming of great guns closed the ceremony at the precise moment when—a hundred years before—Napoleon had died at St. Helena.

Ceremonies no less significant were held at the Tomb of Napoleon, where Marshal Foch delivered an address which moved the large audience greatly. The conclusion of this address follows:

Sire, sleep in peace! From the very tomb you are still working for France. Whenever danger threatens the Fatherland, our flags are moved by the breath of your imperial eagle as it passes. If our legions have returned in triumph through the Triumphal Arch which you erected, it is because that sword of Austerlitz had shown us how to unite and lead the forces which win to victory. Your masterly lessons, your obstinate labor remain unparalleled examples. As we study and meditate upon them, the art of war assumes an ever-growing grandeur.

In a special article written for The London Times, Marshal Foch drew another lesson. Though he acknowledged Napoleon's mistakes in placing the individual above the nation and war above peace, he did homage to his unconquerable spirit and fierce energy for France:

In the dark hours of the war, we often asked ourselves: "If Napoleon were to rise from his tomb at the Invalides, what would he say to us, what would he do with our armies of today? He would have said to us: 'You have millions of men; I never had them. You have railways, telegraphs, wireless, aircraft, long-range artillery, poison gases; I had none of them. And you do not turn them to account? I'll show you a thing or two!' And in a couple of months he would have changed everything from top to bottom, reorganized everything, employed everything in some new way, and crushed

the bewildered enemy. Then he would have come back at the head of his victorious armies—and would have been very much in the way.

Similar exercises were held in Corsica. The same note was voiced there; likewise in the celebration of the new national fête of Joan of Arc on May 8. France's determination to secure justice from Germany, if need be, at the point of the sword, was similarly expressed by President Millerand on the occasion of his visit to Lille on May 16.

In all these national festivities the note of a renewed Catholicism was heard again and again. France, it will be recalled, has reopened diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Senator Charles Jonnart, formerly the Allied High Commissioner in Athens, and later Extraordinary Ambassador to the Vatican, was nominated by Premier Briand on May 17 as French Ambassador to the Holy See.

With the triumph of the radical element of the railroad brotherhood early in June, and the probability of a pitched battle between the moderate and extreme factions, the fate of both this union and the General Confederation of Labor was left hanging in the balance. The Government decree dissolving the Confederation for the anti-governmental activities of its radical leaders still stands unexecuted, but any increase of radicalism is a bad omen for the existence of either of these organizations. The Government was taking steps to eliminate the surreptitious teaching of communism in the public schools. It was also waging a determined war on criminality, and on June 1 it resumed its former system of deportation to the penal colony of French Guiana, interrupted for lack of transportation since 1915. The resumption was due to the overcrowding of French prisons, which was serious. Some 700 convicts left La Rochelle on a former German freighter on June 1, shut up in eight huge iron cages constructed between decks, guarded by fifty military warders.

BELGIUM—The Belgian Chamber of Deputies, on May 13, ratified the treaty of Trianon, putting an end to the state of war with Hungary, by a unanimous vote of the 132 members present. * * * The long-expected split in the Belgian So-

cialist Party became definite on May 29, when the extremists decided to constitute a communist party, which will seek contact with the Third International of Moscow.

* * * A Franco-Belgian monument on the summit of Mount Kemmel, to commemorate the victorious allied resistance to the German attack in 1918, was unveiled on May 22. * * * The proposed ocean yacht race for the cup offered by King Albert of Belgium from Sandy Hook to Ostend has been abandoned for this year, only two entries having been received.

HOLLAND—Secretary Hughes of the United States, on May 27, sent a new note to Holland on the oil question through the American Minister at The Hague, instructing him to take issue with the Dutch Government's statement that in claiming rights for American nationals to help exploit the Djambi oil field in the Dutch East Indies the United States Government had acted too late. The United States contends that, as Dutch citizens are permitted to share in the development of oil properties in the United States, American citizens are entitled to equal opportunity in the whole Dutch territory. Representatives of the Standard Oil Company, which wants a concession for one-half the Djambi oil fields, also expressed surprise at the statement

that their claim came too late, as they said that persons acting in the interests of the Standard Oil Company as late as October, 1920, were told by the Dutch Colonial Minister that no consideration could be given to an application by the Standard Oil Company because it was a foreign interest.

The annual convention of the World's Young Men's Christian Associations met in Utrecht on June 10, with delegates from all national organizations in attendance. The sessions were taken up mostly with comparing reports of war work organizations and deciding upon the policy to be pursued during the coming year. The sessions were to close on June 17.

A marble bust of the former German Empress was received by the Kaiser at Doorn on May 18. Although the Kaiser was for some time extremely depressed after the death of his wife, he is now reported to have emerged from his gloom. He has paid a visit to the Bentinck family to thank them for their marks of sympathy. The Doorn municipality, on May 25, bought a strip of woodland which belonged to his estate, but was outside his fences and therefore useless to him. He wished to sell it in small allotments as building ground in order to add to his income, but the town will preserve it for the public in its natural state.

HOME PROBLEMS OF THE BRITISH PREMIER

*Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government again defeats its enemies—
Approaching settlement of the coal miners' strike hastened by use of fuel oil*

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

ONCE again Mr. Lloyd George and his Coalition Cabinet have weathered a threatening storm, making a new show of strength in the face of hostile criticisms of the Government's Irish policy, defections in Parliament and the general labor turmoil. Talk of a general election subsided for the time, and even the labor crisis showed signs of approaching settlement. Though the Anglo-French conflict of policy on the Silesian question produced a tense situation in foreign affairs, especially after Lloyd George's speech containing the words, "I

am alarmed, I am frightened," nevertheless public interest continued to centre upon home troubles, among which the Irish and labor problems continued to be foremost.

Out of what was termed the "creeping paralysis" of the coal miners' strike, from which the midland and northern counties chiefly suffered, considerable relief was presently obtained by the use of oil as fuel. It was pointed out that so long as coal was cheap, accessible and easily obtained it held its own against the commercial encroachments of oil, but now that these attributes

had vanished "the twilight of the coal age seemed to have set in." Thus by June 1 the Great Eastern Railway, which was almost shut down a fortnight before, was running almost normally with over sixty converted oil-burning locomotives, while several other railways and great engineering plants were following suit as fast as possible.

Meantime quiet "conversations" for a settlement of the dispute continued until May 27, when definite negotiations between the mine owners and miners were again opened under the handling of Premier Lloyd George. On the 28th he met representatives of both parties and handed them a plan for temporary arrangements leading to a permanent peace. His proposals provided for a gradual scaling down of wages until they reached an economic level which the industry was capable of sustaining, and were based on the grant of £10,000,000 from the Exchequer and surrender by the owners of the standard profits for three months in the districts where Government assistance was required. As a hopeful sign, on May 31, the National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport Workers' Federation decided to lift the embargo on imported or "tainted" coal. However, the atmosphere became clouded again by returns from the colliery districts, indicating that the miners were voting solidly against the Government's new peace proposals. A reply of the mine owners on June 3, while declaring that they were "unalterably opposed" to a national pool and a national settlement of wages, nevertheless made new offers, including one to provide a subsistence wage for the low-paid workers. Foreshadowings of peace were seen when, for the first time in the coal deadlock, the owners and miners had a full and frank conference on June 6 without the presence of Government representatives. Another meeting on the 7th resulted in an announcement by the miners' representatives that they had decided to call a special conference of the Miners' Federation and to recommend a ballot on the owners' new proposals. When the miners' delegates met they agreed to the latter proposal, and on June 10 formally decided to submit the offer of the coal owners to a vote of all members of the Miners' Federation, to be taken June 15. This was the first time in the ten weeks' warfare that the rank and file

had had an opportunity to express their views, and it was generally believed that an amicable settlement of the strike was in sight.

Otherwise the disturbed industrial situation was intensified by a walkout of 500,000 cotton mill operators against a proposed 30 per cent. reduction in wages, and by the acute depression in shipping. The case of the latter was declared to be the worst on record, with thousands of longshoremen, seamen, firemen, officers and engineers walking the docks looking for berths. With the slump in freight rates and shipping values, shipbuilding had come to a standstill so far as new orders were concerned. Thus, no contract for a cargo boat had been reported for about twelve months, and in different parts of the country important yards were ordered closed. The woolen industry, too, was in a deplorable condition, although it had not suffered from strike troubles.

Representatives of farmers and workers in the House of Commons received a shock on June 8 when Sir Arthur G. Boscawen announced the Government's decision practically to repeal the Agricultural act, not six months old, by which means it purposed saving £30,000,000 a year in subsidies. At the same session Dr. McNamara, Minister of Labor, asked leave to introduce a bill to curtail unemployment benefits 5 and 6 shillings a week for men and women, respectively, as an absolutely necessary measure in the interest of public economy.

The new American Ambassador, Colonel George Harvey, arrived in the course of the month, as did Rear Admiral Sims. The cordiality of the welcome extended to the latter, who came to England to receive a degree of doctor of laws from Cambridge University, was particularly marked. One newspaper declared he was "the best friend in need that England found during the war." A guard of honor of destroyers escorted the American Admiral's ship into Liverpool, and later he was entertained by the King and Queen in Buckingham Palace.

Following a solemn Memorial Day service in St. Paul's Cathedral on May 30, Ambassador Harvey unveiled a replica of Houdon's bust of George Washington in the crypt near the graves of Nelson and Wellington. It stood there, he said, to

commemorate "a great British soldier and a great American patriot." Lord Bryce announced that in acknowledgment of this gift it was proposed to present to the American people busts of the famous Earl of Chatham and Edmund Burke.

A record job lot of 113 obsolete warships was announced by the Admiralty as having been sold to one firm for breaking up at

the flat rate of 50 shillings per ton on actual displacement. Under the contract the provisional price was deemed to be £600,000. The lot included the battleships Dreadnought, Magnificent, Hindustan, Dominion and Mars, six cruisers, six light cruisers, three flotilla leaders, seventy-two torpedo-boat destroyers, thirteen torpedo-boats and eight monitors.

THE NEW NORTH-OF-IRELAND PARLIAMENT

Ulster Chamber organized at Belfast by forty Unionist members, while eleven Sinn Feiners and Nationalists, also elected, remain away—Speaker for the British House of Commons elected by royal sanction through Viceroy—Burning of Dublin Custom House

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

BENEATH the turmoil of a decidedly active warfare the current of peace efforts in Ireland still wandered uncertainly. A new negotiator was disclosed in former Governor Martin H. Glynn of New York, who, upon his return from Ireland and England, admitted that he had acted as an intermediary between Premier Lloyd George and Mr. de Valera. Another peace effort came in a long letter written by Pope Benedict to Cardinal Logue appealing to both the English and Irish to abandon violence and proposing that the Irish question be settled by a body selected by the whole Irish Nation. This effort was criticised by friends of the Irish on the ground that the Pope had directed his appeal to the people of Ireland over the heads of their Government. A word on the subject from Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary for Ireland, was to the effect that if Ireland failed to settle itself through the medium of the two new Parliaments "a situation would arise which the Government must face with all its resources."

Final elections for the Southern Parliament left the situation as stated in last month's *CURRENT HISTORY*. A few contests did not change the result of 124 Sinn Fein members facing four Imperialists. While

it was believed that the moderates among the former were in a conciliatory mood, nothing could be said as to how far the extremists were prepared to go to wreck the new parliamentary system.

Hardly had the curfew been raised at 5 o'clock on the morning of May 24, the date fixed for elections to the Northern Parliament, when opposing parties, with bands thundering, began parading the streets of Belfast and soon came into fierce conflict. At the outset clubs and stones were mostly used, though revolver firing was indulged in here and there. A feature of the day was the number of children, with names on the register, who recorded their votes. A little fellow two and a half years old presented himself at a booth in South Belfast and voted. It was estimated that 90 per cent. of the voters of Belfast went to the polls.

Early returns showed that Sir James Craig, Premier designate, had gained a great personal triumph in County Down, where he polled more than 13,000 votes over de Valera. The figures for the three candidates who were certain of election in this constituency were Sir James Craig, Unionist, 29,829; de Valera, Sinn Fein, 16,269, and Andrews, Nationalist, 12,584. Londonderry returned Professor John MacNeil, the

Sinn Fein Vice President, along with three Unionists. Michael Collins, Chief of the Irish Republican Army, and Arthur Griffiths, "Vice President of the Republic," also won seats in Armagh in company with Unionists. In the West Division of Belfast Joseph Devlin, M. P., Nationalist, was elected with T. H. Burn, M. P., Unionist. The final count gave the Unionists forty seats against eleven won by the Sinn Feiners and Nationalists.

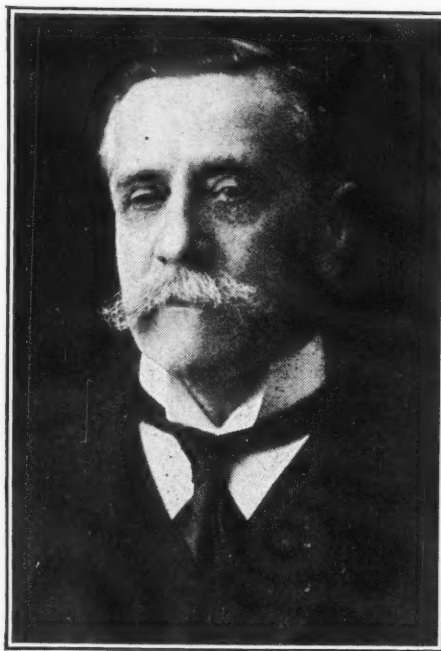
Organization of the Northern Parliament took place on June 7 in the Council Chamber of the City Hall, Belfast. Forty Unionist members were sworn in, with some 175 Government officials and prominent citizens present. The eleven Sinn Feiners and Nationalists did not appear. The formal ceremony went through without a hitch and in a quiet, unemotional manner. The Viceroy, Viscount Fitzalan, entered the Council Chamber at 11:30 A. M. and took a chair. Thereupon the Sergeant at Arms brought in a new mace and laid it on the table. Archbishop d'Arcy, Anglican Primate, read prayers, and then the Viceroy announced that he had authority from the King to sanction the election of a Speaker for the House of Commons. Robert William Hugh O'Neill was unanimously elected. Premier Sir James Craig was the first member to take the oath, which read: "I swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George, his heirs and successors, according to law, so help me God." The other thirty-nine members followed in threes, including two women, Mrs. Julia Chichester and Mrs. Robert McMordie.

After adjournment by the Speaker at 12:40 until June 22 a luncheon was served at which Joseph Devlin's seat was the only one reserved for members of the Opposition. On this occasion the Viceroy made his maiden speech in Ireland. Lord Fitzalan spoke of conditions generally and was frequently applauded. After luncheon Sir James Craig read a message from King George announcing His Majesty's intention of opening the Parliament on June 22 in person. The Premier also announced his Cabinet as follows:

Home Secretary—Sir Dawson Bates.
Minister of Finance—H. M. Pollock.
Minister of Education—The Marquis of Londonderry.
Minister of Labor—J. M. Andrews.

Minister of Agriculture—Hon. E. A. Archdale.

The elections, however, brought no cessation of fighting, burning and reprisals. Reports of ambushes and other attacks on Crown forces in Ireland during the weekend of May 16 showed the highest record for such a period—thirty-three persons killed. On May 17, while a military football match was in progress at Bandon, County Cork, fire was opened on the players and spectators with a Lewis gun.



(Photo Keystone View Co.)

VISCOUNT FITZALAN

New Viceroy of Ireland, formerly known as Lord Edmund Talbot

But these and similar actions were dwarfed into comparative insignificance by the burning of the Dublin Custom House on May 25. This was regarded as the most serious damage done by the revolutionaries. The building, of which nothing but the shell remained, was erected 145 years ago, during the existence of the Irish Parliament, on a quay on the left bank of the Liffey, and was one of the most beautiful structures in Ireland. It had little to do with the customs, but housed many of the chief administrative departments, and its destruction was therefore regarded as more disabling to the ordinary machinery of

Government than if Dublin Castle had been burned. The methodically planned operation was carried out in the afternoon by a body of about seventy raiders. These men approached the building amid the throngs of ordinary passers-by, and suddenly overpowered the guards before an alarm could be given. They then entered the building, held up the officials at revolver point, and proceeded to throw all the documents and books on the floor, which they saturated with petrol and ignited. Within a few minutes the greater part of the huge building was in flames.

Suddenly the gathering crowd of awed spectators was driven helter-skelter as armored cars with three tenders loaded with auxiliary police came at full speed along the quays. As they approached they were greeted with bombs from the railroad bridge and revolver fire from the Custom House windows. A machine gun and rifles were promptly brought into return action. Fire being opened on the police from adjoining streets, a machine gun was sent to

sweep them. This caught the crowd between two fires, resulting in numerous civilian casualties. The last act of the dramatic scene was the desperate attempt of the raiders to escape from the building under rifle fire from police and with the roof burning over their heads. In the fighting 7 civilians were killed, 4 auxiliaries and 7 civilians wounded, and 111 prisoners taken by the police. The damage was estimated at \$10,000,000, a sum which, Mr. Lloyd George stated, Southern Ireland would have to pay in additional taxes.

That the announced intention of Irish revolutionaries to carry the warfare into England was no idle threat was demonstrated in Liverpool and suburban districts of London on May 15. Bandit gangs traversed the City of Liverpool in automobiles. Six districts in London were visited by armed men, who wore masks and carried bottles of petrol, and showed no hesitation in shooting. Altogether, incendiary fires attributed to Sinn Fein terrorists broke out in thirteen districts.



(Photo International)

DUBLIN CUSTOM HOUSE, ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL BUILDINGS IN IRELAND, WHICH WAS BURNED AND TOTALLY DESTROYED BY SINN FEINERS ON MAY 25, 1921

CANADA'S NEW GOVERNOR GENERAL

General Lord Byng succeeds the Duke of Devonshire—Attitude of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa on disarmament and the Anglo-Japanese treaty

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

WHEN the Duke of Devonshire formally prorogued Parliament on the evening of June 4, he performed his last act of that kind in Canada. His Excellency is succeeded by General Lord Byng, who was created first Baron of Vimy in 1919. Byng's appointment is immensely popular in Canada, chiefly owing to his association with the Canadian corps in the great war. He directed the corps as a unit in its great success at Vimy Ridge in 1917. Subsequently he was given command of the Third British Army. Lord Byng, who is the seventh son of the second Earl of Strafford, is expected to assume his duties as Governor General in August.

Within a few days of prorogation Premier Arthur Meighen sailed for London to take part in the conference of British Empire Premiers and representatives. Prior to his departure a dispatch was sent to the Canadian newspapers by the Canadian Press Company's representative accompanying Mr. Meighen. The latter's attitude on two vital questions, namely, armaments and the British-Japanese treaty of alliance, were outlined in that dispatch. In regard to the former it was intimated that Premier Meighen was opposed to any commitments at this time for naval expansion or expenditures beyond those actually undertaken. The financial situation and the uncertainty of the industrial outlook in the countries of the empire were quoted as his reason for the view that matters relative to armament should not be considered at this gathering, or if considered should not be approved as suggested policies. As to the treaty with Japan, it was intimated that Mr. Meighen's attitude was in accord with that of Premier Smuts of South Africa and Premier Hughes of Australia. With them he was of opinion that the treaty should be renewed with modifications that would make it acceptable to the United States. The correspondent of the Canadian Press may be regarded as the official publicity man for the Canadian Premier in connec-

tion with the conference, and the views thus expressed on the two issues mentioned may be taken as those of the Canadian Government. The newspapers generally do not agree with the view of a section of the British press that this is the most important imperial conference ever held in respect to defense matters. They are inclined to regard it as a stepping stone to the constitutional conference expected to be held next year, at which the status of the overseas dominions and Britain will be clearly defined.

Premier W. M. Martin and the Liberal Government of the province of Saskatchewan were re-elected in the general elections held on June 9. The Government will have from 40 to 45 seats in a House of 63, the independents 14 to 16, Conservatives and Labor the rest. The election was fought largely on purely local issues. Harris Turner



GENERAL LORD BYNG
Hero of Vimy Ridge, who has become Governor General of Canada

of Saskatoon, a blinded war veteran who edits a newspaper, was among the sitting members returned, and there is some talk of his leading the opposition ranks in the next Legislature.

AUSTRALIA—Views which Premier Hughes of Australia intended to advocate at the British Imperial Conference were published at length in London on May 22 in *The Sunday Times*, as cabled from Australia. Mr. Hughes began by arguing that an adequate navy was indispensable to Australia and continued:

The bearing of the Japanese treaty upon the naval defense of the empire is obvious. As we have seen, there has lately been much talk of strained relations between the United States and Japan. Now in them lie the germs of great trouble in this world. What is the hope of the world as I see it? It is an alliance between the two great branches of English-speaking peoples. Here is our dilemma. Our safety lies in a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, yet that treaty is anathema to the Americans. We not only have no quarrel with America, we have no quarrel with Japan. Our ideal at the conference is, as I see it, a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty in some such form, and modified if that should be deemed proper, as will be acceptable to Great Britain, to America, to Japan and to ourselves. When one comes to the alleged causes of disputes between Japan and America, those differences appear to be trivial as compared with the tremendous evil which war would inflict upon both nations.

The Victorian Electricity Commission has accepted the single tender of the International General Electric Company, a subsidiary of the General Electric Company, for furnishing switch gear and transformers for the development of coal near Melbourne at a price of £379,000, which is £200,000 below the lowest combination of British sectional bids submitted.

Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, announced on June 2 that he had received from Australia a telegram informing him that the Australian Government on May 8 had established a civil administration in the former German colony of New Guinea under the mandate of the League.

NEW ZEALAND—Sir John Findley of New Zealand, speaking before the Royal Colonial Institute in London early in June, talked on the forthcoming Imperial Conference and pointed out that for the

first time the dominions would take a formal directive share in the shaping of the imperial foreign policy—in connection with the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. "Some day," he said, "there will be a world conflict between the East and the West, and—as the only means of preserving our Western civilization—a larger federation may be imperatively required, which will embrace all English-speaking people of the globe and will bring us nearer the poet's ideal of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

SOUTH AFRICA—General Smuts in a speech to the House of Assembly at Cape Town declared himself in favor of a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, but added: "I agree with Mr. Hughes (the Australian Premier) to this extent, that no renewal should take place unless we can satisfy America by the form the treaty takes that no jeopardy of her interests is involved. When I look at the question as a whole and the interests for which we stand, it seems to me vital that every effort should be made to keep in touch, sympathy and contact with the great American Republic."

In another address on May 27, also outlining his attitude in the Imperial Conference, he warmly defended the League of Nations, making an earnest plea that the League be given a chance to show what it could do. "Do not let us fight the League of Nations," he said, "but let us fight the Supreme Council, which may be wrong." He saw no other hope for the future of the human race than that of an association of nations, great and small.

EGYPT—Semi-political riots occurred in Alexandria and Cairo in the latter part of May. In Cairo on May 20 there was a demonstration against the Government started by students in the Bulac quarter. A student was killed outside the Ministry of Finance, and many policemen were severely injured. Egyptian Lancers were compelled to intervene to disperse the rioters. At the funeral of the student next day rioting was renewed and the police had finally to fire on the mob. Two persons were killed and fifteen wounded.

In Alexandria the disturbance was more serious. Twelve Europeans and thirty-six natives were killed and 191 persons wounded in riots on May 22 and 23. The trouble

started between Greeks and natives and indiscriminate shooting spread throughout the city. There was general looting and many houses in the customs quarter were burned.

Official circles held that the rioting in both cities had its basis in the fact that none of the Egyptian nationalists was chosen on the delegation going to London to discuss the future of Egypt. The Premier had refused to appoint Zaglul Pasha or any of his supporters on the mission, which is

headed by Adly Pasha, the Prime Minister himself.

LIBERIA—Five pounds sterling, and no more, is to be the price of a wife, according to a recently ratified convention between the Governments of Liberia, regulating relations between tribes on the Sierra Leone border. No claim can be made in respect of a woman except by her husband and no woman can be compelled to return to a claimant against her will.

THE VATICAN'S NEW RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

Appointment of Senator Jonnart as Ambassador to the Holy See and of Mgr. Cerretti as Papal Nuncio at Paris marks a further increase of the Vatican's diplomatic prestige—Difference between the French and Italian attitudes

WITH the appointment of Senator Jonnart to be Ambassador Extraordinary at the Vatican, and Mgr. Cerretti to be Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the French Republic, after sixteen years' interruption, have been resumed. The appointments are tentative, however—only for six months—for the French Senate has not yet confirmed the act of the Chamber voting the necessary credits. Still, face to face with a fait accompli, it is expected that the Senate will now pass the Chamber bill, when the appointments will become permanent. In his allocution to the Sacred College on June 13 the Pope expressed joy at the restoration of diplomatic relations with France, to which, he says, the Pontificate will gladly adhere, faithful to its traditions, and only desiring harmony between the Church and the State for the common good.

The new arrangement presupposes an exchange of diplomats, and provides for the recovery by France of her office as protector of Catholics in the Orient, and for the good offices of the Vatican in making the treaties which were the outcome of the great war prevail in Catholic communities, so that universal peace may be hastened. On the other hand, there is to be no modification

of French legislation in regard to worship and religious schools and associations—that is to say, the associations law will not be abrogated, and the Concordat of 1801 will not be revived. In the appointment of Bishops France is to have the "most favored nation" treatment; Presidents of the republic finally may visit the Quirinal without prejudice to the Vatican.

The reconciliation is due to several definite causes, chief among which are the desire of the French people to reward the immortal patriotism of the French priests during the war, and the recognition that the Vatican has again become a powerful force in world politics. Had the Allies been better represented at the Vatican during the war, its friends say, the consistent neutral attitude of the Pope would have been better understood by them, and certain delinquencies of which pro-German officials at the Vatican were guilty would not have taken place. As it was, what could Sir Henry Howard and his successor, the Count de Salis, representatives of Great Britain, and J. van den Heunel, the representative of Belgium, hope to achieve against such trained diplomats as Prince von Schönburg-Hartenstein, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Dr. von Mühlberg of Prussia and Baron von Ritter von Grünstein of Bavaria?

And what chance had the devoted Cardinal Mercier, who came in December, 1915, to tell the Holy Father about the rape of Belgium, when he was circumvented on every occasion by his Eminence of Cologne, Cardinal Felix von Hartmann?

"Your eminence," said von Hartmann, tolerantly, on one occasion, when these Princes of the Church met at the house of a Roman lady, "your Eminent need not feel embarrassed. We shall not talk of the war."

"And your Eminence may be quite certain," replied the Belgian Cardinal, solemnly, "that I shall not even hint at peace."

Had the Allies been adequately represented at the Vatican, it is inconceivable that the German and Austrian influences which caused the Pope to present his peace note of Aug. 1, 1917, would not have been laid bare. As it was, these influences prevailed, and behind the universal discussion of the peace note the Teutons prepared for Caporetto and Picardy. All this, however, did not prevent the note from being the sincere expression of a neutral monarch for peace, of a similar inspiration to the note which his Holiness sent to Cardinal Logue on May 21, appealing to both the Irish and to the English to abandon violence in Ireland.

As early as July, 1918, France began a rapprochement by sending M. Denys Cochin on a private mission to Pope Benedict XV. Two years later, at the canonization of Joan of Arc at St. Peter's, France sent an extraordinary delegation, headed by that distinguished historian and statesman, Gabriel Hanotaux. Thus was the rupture gradually healed, although probably few of the soldier priests of France, and fewer still of the members of the Curia, even wished to have relations revert to the old status, under which the Vatican could not exercise the proper authority over religious bodies in France, because they claimed to be French, nor the French Government properly control them because they also claimed to be of the Vatican.

The Concordat of 1801, the famous agreement entered into between Napoleon and Pius VII., had outlived its usefulness for both parties. Even as early as Leo XII.'s time, Cardinal Rampollo, the Papal Secretary of State, believed that a change in the Concordat would work to mutual benefit,

but that the initiative must come from France. The Dreyfus case, with its Royalist plots, in which religious orders were concerned, carried the temper of Frenchmen too far. So the associations law, which drove the orders from France, closed their schools and confiscated their property, was followed and amplified by the Separation act, by which France abrogated the Concordat, deprived the Church of its property and organized rights, and reduced the clergy to simple citizenship, with orders not to recognize any authority from abroad. Thus deprived of both the material and spiritual support of the Mother Church, 20,000 French priests went to the front and freely offered their lives for the country, which had made many of them beggars. They used rifles against the Germans, and crucifixes against the horrors of the trenches. They were Frenchmen first, and then priests, and all France was grateful.

So after the war the element of gratitude joined that of political exigency, and France was constrained to go to Canossa, but without humiliation. By a curious coincidence, on the very day, May 25, that M. Jonnart departed for Rome, there died at Paris the man who, as Premier of France sixteen years before, had been the chief instrument in divorcing the State from the Church, Dr. Emile Combes. On May 31, M. Jonnart was received at the Vatican.

Charles C. A. Jonnart, very wealthy himself, and married to a wealthy wife—the daughter of M. Aynard, the influential Deputy of the Department of the Rhône—owner of half a dozen beautiful châteaux, a devout Catholic, as well as a man of the world, a statesman, a diplomat, was born in 1857. He has been engaged in public life since 1889, when he was first elected Deputy from the Pas de Calais. Later he was elected Senator from the same department. He was Minister for Public Works in the Casimir Périer Cabinet in 1893, and has passed two terms as Governor General of Algiers. He filled for a short time the thorny post of Chairman of the Reparations Commission, and has on more than one occasion been in the running as a possible Premier and a possible President of the Republic. He was Premier Clemenceau's first choice as French High Commissioner in Alsace-Lorraine immediately after the war, a post subsequently filled by M. Millerand, now President of

France. M. Jonnart's most interesting mission perhaps was in 1917, when he headed the allied representatives who went to Athens and expelled King Constantine from Greece.

The new papal nuncio to Paris, Mgr. Bonaventura Cerretti, Archbishop of Corinth, is probably the most gifted diplomat in the College of the Vatican. Although subordinate as Secretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, he is known to exercise a dominating influence in things diplomatic. Like the late Cardinal Ferrata, to whom he bore a striking resemblance, he was born in the Province of Arviato, in 1872. There he made his studies for the priesthood, which he entered in 1895. Almost immediately he was attached to the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, equivalent to Papal Foreign Office. Nine years later Pius X. sent him to be secretary to the Apostolic Legation at Mexico City; two years later he filled a similar post with the Papal Legate at Washington. The war found him Legate for Australia and New Zealand, whence he was recalled by the present Pope to succeed Mgr. Pacelli in the Foreign Office, who had been ordered as nuncio to Munich.

Mgr. Cerretti has twice been on missions to America. The first time was in July, 1917, when the ship on which he sailed flew the white and gold papal flag, as a moral warning to German submarines. Again, in the Spring of 1919, he came as the Pope's personal representative to the golden jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons. At the Peace Conference, in 1919, although the Vatican had no recognized standing as a political power, Mgr. Cerretti was present as its representative, and did much among the delegates of the Allies toward promoting a true conception of the Holy Father's unswerving neutrality during the war. He also saved the Catholics in the surrendered German colonies from much unnecessary humiliation.

The re-establishment of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican has revived in the Italian press a debate on the relations between the Quirinal and the Vatican and the possibility of a similar reconciliation. *Il Messaggero*, on June 9, pointed out the mutual benefits to be derived from such a reconciliation. The Pope by recover-

ing his freedom of action, and the State by freeing itself from clerical antagonism. *L'Osservatore*, the organ of the Vatican, for the first time welcomed such a rapprochement: The Church, it said, had done much to bring it about; it had removed the inhibition which had prevented Catholics from taking part in the civil Government, and had then allowed them to form a political party, and to hold portfolios in the Cabinet; moreover, it had tried to range them on the side of law and order in the recent elections. It awaited only the Quirinal's initiative.

But the cases of France and Italy and their relations to the Vatican are not the same. The differences of the Quirinal and the Vatican are fundamental. The case of the Vatican is this: The Kingdom of Italy from 1860 till 1870 illegally absorbed the States of the Church, and thus deprived the Popes of all temporal power. It makes no difference that the people of Romagna, Umbria, the Marches and of Rome itself voted by plebiscite for incorporation in the kingdom—the illegality exists. That the Vatican, however, would be ready to negotiate for a condition which would at least nominally restore the temporality of the Popes was made clear by Pius X., who wrote:

"The Pope in his character of monarch has the power to contract or to extend his domains like other monarchs and by treaties with them, but he cannot be deprived of his temporality by force." The Vatican believes that the essence of this temporality is still preserved through the Pope's possession of the domain of the Vatican, the Lateran palaces and the villa of Castel Gandolfo.

But the Quirinal does not even acknowledge this semblance of temporality. By the law of May 13, 1871, it considered Pope Pius IX. and his successors to be tenants of these places, with a yearly guarantee by the Italian Government of 3,225,000 lire for their upkeep, which sum, however, is still unclaimed and unpaid. The working of the law of guarantees was illustrated by the following case: When the conclave which was to elect Leo XIII. met in 1876, the Cardinals, fearing that the Roman mob might invade the Vatican and that they might suffer indignities, if nothing worse therefrom, asked the Government for safe conduct to Civita Vecchia, the port of Rome, twenty-eight miles northwest of the Eternal

City. The Government promised them safe conduct, but added that if the conclave was held elsewhere the new Pope could not return to the Vatican.

A revival of the question, coming on the heels of the French reconciliation, has inspired some ardent French Catholics to point out that the domains of the Popes at Avignon and Comtat-Venaissin, in France, enjoyed for six centuries by them until taken away in 1791, might be restored. But no intelligent Catholic deems such a solu-

tion possible. Most persons who have studied the question believe that the solution lies in Italy's recognition of the temporality of the Popes over the areas where they now exercise temporal authority, with perhaps an open way between them. They cannot imagine that any large community of Italians, even if the Government permitted it, would exchange its present status for papal rule, as it was in the Eternal City before the troops of Victor Emmanuel made a breach at the Porta Vecchia.

SPAIN'S MURDER SYNDICATE

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

GERMAN propaganda for trade, if for nothing more, has been revived in Spain by the publication at Madrid of a Spanish edition of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, beginning with a series of articles from the pen of the former German Ambassador at Rome, Count von Monts, pretending to prove that Germany was not responsible for the war. Old arguments and old documents are used, among the latter being extracts from the British-Russian correspondence unearthed at the Petrograd Foreign Office by Lenin in December, 1917, and recently published with pro-German editorial notes in a New York paper.

The only difference between this propaganda and that indulged in during the war is that now the Munich paper gives more attention to religious topics than it does to those of interest to the proletariat.

The Paris *Matin* is publishing a series of

articles from its Madrid correspondent dealing with Spain's great syndicate of murder, particulars of which, from time to time, have been presented in *CURRENT HISTORY*. According to the figures of the *Matin* man in the six months ending April 30, 327 employers of labor had been slain and 167 workers.

After the Spaniards and Moors had agreed upon an armistice on April 24, hostilities were renewed, on May 7, by Generals Sanjurjo and Costo, as reprisal for an attack made on a Spanish convoy marching between Meniero and Tyenin.

The new Spanish tariff, which particularly affects the American republics, went into effect on June 1, accompanied by a Ministerial decree imposing pro rata duties on all merchandise imported from countries the money of which has depreciated in comparison with the peseta.

PORTUGAL'S NEW GOVERNMENT

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

THERE was a political flareup in Portugal in the third week of May; for a time, a cabinet crisis threatened to give way to revolution. On May 21 the Prime Minister, Senhor Bernardino Machado, and the entire Cabinet placed their resignations in the hands of President Almeida. As the opposition forces led by Senhor Augusto Soares had stated their policy as "everything or nothing," and declined to co-oper-

ate, rumors were spread that another revolutionist leader, Machado dos Santos, had been proclaimed President of the Republic, and that Senhor Bernardino Machado and Senhor Alvaro had fled to the provinces, where they were attempting to start a counter-revolution. This last story of a revolution and counter-revolution was published in the papers of Madrid.

It was proved to be incorrect but not be-

fore the story had been cabled abroad without any subsequent contradiction. What had actually happened was this: Senhor Machado's Government, which, like its predecessors, had represented the maximum Parliamentary concentration, did not receive an adverse vote, but went out of office through fears of a revolution directed against itself and Parliament on account of administrative scandals.

One measure claimed by the revolutionary junta was the dissolution of Parliament, but the question arose as to who was to preside over the elections, since the constitutional authority would have disappeared. Some appealed for foreign intervention—Great Britain, for example—under which the elections might be guaranteed. But this was denounced by others, as it was reported that Royalists and Integralists were waiting for just such an opportunity in order to prove their supremacy by intrigue, if not through numbers. Finally, on May 25, the President devised a slate which satisfied all parties, at least for the time. It was:

THOME BARROS QUITIROZ, Premier and Finance.

ANTONIO GRANJO, Interior and Commerce.

MELLO BARRETO, Foreign Affairs.

MATOS CID, Justice.

LADISLAU PEREIRA, Marine.

ABOIM INGLEZ, Agriculture.

RIBEIRO DE CARVALHO, Labor.

Colonel ALBERTO DA SILVEIRA, War.

The majority of the press and republican opinion received the Cabinet well. Senhor Antonio Maria da Silva, the former Minister of Finance, who is the leader of the Democrats, declared that the new Premier might count upon the complete support of his party, the new Ministers being Republicans with respect to whose loyalty there could be no doubt. Senhor Antonio Granjo, the new Minister of Commerce, has announced his intention of adopting the proposals of his predecessor, mentioning in particular the measure for the protection and encouragement of the mercantile marine.

THE BALKAN STATES GROWING NEIGHBORLY

Rumania, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia collaborating with Italy for an economic alliance that will help Central Europe commercially—Jugoslavia and Rumania sign a treaty of alliance—The Zadruga, a Bulgarian phenomenon

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

SINCE the middle of May several events have happened which supplement the movement of the Little Entente, as outlined in the June CURRENT HISTORY, for political solidarity in the Balkans and economic revival in the emancipated States of the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire. To be sure, the vote of the Austrian Salzburg, north of Italy's new Tyrolian frontier, for union with Germany somewhat disconcerted the Rome Government; for such a union would have a strong influence upon Italy's new German subjects south of the Brenner, who recently elected to the Italian Chamber the entire Bolzano ticket—four members of the Deutsche Verland led by Count Frederick Toggenburg. Also diplo-

matic exchanges, which ensued between Rome and Vienna, revealed the latter's indifference to the Salzburg vote, which, in diplomatic circles, is looked upon as an entering wedge for Austria itself. On the other hand, the new conference of plenipotentiaries of the Entente and Little Entente, which opened at Porto Rosiga, near Monfalcone, on June 15, is expected, on French as well as Italian initiative, to give the coup de grâce to all Austrian aspirations for a realization of the Salzburg plebiscite. A formal protest against a pan-Austria plebiscite was made by Rumania at Vienna on May 21.

This conference, like the preceding ones at the same place, while nominally called

to devise a formula by which Austria may be economically and financially rehabilitated, has a more extended program in view—the economic, if not the political, interests of the Little Entente and its ramifications in Central Europe. At this conference Lieut. Col. Clarence B. Smith represents the United States in the character of an unofficial observer. The Harding Administration takes the view that the United States is vitally interested, not only in the economic restoration of Central Europe, but also in the methods which the Balkans are able to contribute in order to bring that about. These methods are of particular concern to the American manufacturers of agricultural implements and of railway stock.

Italian delegates at Belgrade completed a commercial treaty with Yugoslavia on June 2. On the same day the Tribuna Belgradese announced that Italy, in collaboration with Rumania, was negotiating at Prague an economic alliance in which Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia would be brought to a better understanding. According to Signor Salata, one of the Italian delegates at Belgrade, and M. Ribarc, his Serbian colleague, the basis of this alliance would be: (1) The safeguarding and protection of the minority nationals in territory still to be assigned; (2) an immediate exchange of commercial, financial and industrial information among the nations interested for their mutual benefit. Meanwhile the Italian State Railways' New York office announced that the famous Dolomite Road, running from Cortina to Bolzano, via Canazei and Karersee, had been opened for its entire length of seventy miles, and that the public motor service in the Dolomite region would begin running this Summer. This is a distinct achievement for Italian roadbuilders, who performed such miracles of construction for the army during the war.

On June 8, M. Pashitch, Premier and Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, and Take Jonescu, Minister without portfolio of Rumania, signed at Belgrade an agreement guaranteeing the maintenance of the status created by the Trianon and Neuilly treaties. This means that both Yugoslavia and Rumania will mutually aid each other in preserving what they respectively received from Hungary and Bulgaria. Two days later, at Bucharest, the last bone of con-

tention between Rumania and Czechoslovakia was removed. On the one hand, Rumania agreed to turn over to Czechoslovakia three villages, with a population of 3,000, nearly all Czechs; on the other hand, Czechoslovakia agreed to surrender to Rumania eight villages with a population of 10,000, of whom 7,000 are Rumanians.

The Rumanian Government also appointed a Commission to go to Warsaw with powers to carry out the negotiations with the Polish Government looking toward the conclusion of a commercial treaty and an agreement for the transit of goods through Rumania and for navigation on the rivers connecting the two countries. The Commission is also examining a proposal that Poland be given facilities to use the port of Brailla as a maritime and commercial base in the same way as Czechoslovakia is to use Trieste through the Italian agreement.

Jugoslavia, Rumania and Greece had individually protested to the Bulgarian Government against the alleged invasion of the former Bulgarian territory given them by the Treaty of Neuilly by bands of Bulgar brigands. Individually and collectively they had complained on the subject to the Supreme Council with added recriminations to the effect that Bulgaria was not carrying out the terms of the treaty, particularly in regard to the demobilization of her army and the making of reparations. Bulgaria's answers to the last complaints having been deemed satisfactory by the Supreme Council, the Bulgarian Government, in the middle of April, addressed an identical note to the *Chargés d'Affaires* of Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece at Sofia offering in each case to join the complaining Government in a thorough investigation.

As none of the censuring Governments had answered Bulgaria's invitation by the middle of May, Bulgaria laid the entire matter before the representatives of the Entente at Sofia, accusing the interested Governments of entering upon a campaign to destroy the prestige of Bulgaria as well as to obstruct her revival. This had the effect of bringing a reply from Bucharest, and by May 17 a mixed Bulgar-Rumanian commission had made an investigation of the Dobrudja and had signed a protocol that the conditions complained of were mainly due to smugglers and to the laxity of the customs guards on each side of the frontier—

a matter which could be remedied by more stringent regulations by the Ministries of Interior, both at Sofia and Bucharest, working in better accord. It is asserted by the press of Sofia that the complaints of Yugoslavia and Greece, which principally concern Macedonia and Thrace, can be explained and amicably settled in a similar way, although it is beginning to be charged periodically by the Bulgarian Government that armed bands of Serbs and Greeks frequently raid villages on its side of the frontier, burning houses, slaying people and carrying off movable property. Apparently, here, at most, it is the old story of the *comitadjis* of Turkish times.

Stephane S. Bobtcheff, a professor of law at the University of Sofia, has offered an explanation of the phenomenon: While Bulgaria is essentially an agricultural country, rapidly reviving through the confiscation of the large estates for the use of the nation, through the solidarity of landowners and land workers, enforced national labor, and the development of the Green International, the people, at the same time, except in the case of certain urban minorities, will have nothing to do with Bolshevism.

In the Zadrouga he finds the explanation of the illusion of communism without its actuality, for the actuality would mean the obliteration of individual thought and enterprise to which the independent Bulgarian would never consent. The Zadrouga, or

union of several families who claim a common ancestry, has existed for centuries in the southern and western regions of Bulgaria. Once there were hundreds of these communities; now there are fewer than fifty. The reason, according to M. Bobtcheff, is that the Zadrouga, being in principle a Soviet, came to grief because it denied its members the rewards of personal initiative—just as the Russian Soviet does—while its best features with personal initiative became absorbed by the nation at large, and today accounts for the national cohesion among nearly all classes. For example, the ideal of the Zadrouga has become nationalized—"Each for all and all for the Zadrouga; each what he is able to do and to each what he needs."

The Zadrouga holds all property in common, and the community, not the individual, may benefit where individual achievement, gain, or ability surpasses the common status. It is governed by the Starei, or Elders; the Domakini, or Auditors; the Zapovednitzi, or Masters, and the Sadii, or Judges. Years ago the Domakin exercised the function of a dictator; at that time the Zadrouga bore an exact resemblance to the Lenin Soviet.

The Zadrouga began to decline when the attractions outside the community proved too strong for the gifted or educated members to resist the rewards of personal achievement and hence personal advancement in the world.

RACE SUICIDE IN CENTRAL AFRICA

THE Gaboon area is becoming a vast graveyard for the dying races of Central Africa, according to Frederick W. H. Migeod, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, who has returned to London from two journeys across equatorial Africa from sea to sea. The sands of the Sahara have been advancing southward and there has been a steady trek of native tribes, as if pushed by the sand, south and west into French territory. There they are held up by the more vigorous coastal races, and they settle down as if resigned to die out. Women refuse to bear children, and in one tribe the chief has absolutely forbidden

marriage, with the same idea. It is described by Mr. Migeod as the most amazing case of racial suicide on a huge scale that the world has ever seen.

On the other hand, France is about to attempt to stop the advance of the desert by damming the Upper Niger in order to irrigate nearly 4,000,000 acres of land on which it is proposed to raise cotton. A bill introduced in the Chamber of Deputies proposes to appropriate \$250,000,000 for the purpose. With the Niger utilized between Bammako and Timbuctoo, the cotton crop, it is believed, will exceed that in the United States.

HUNGARY AND HER NEIGHBORS

Waiving party differences, Hungarians co-operate to secure internal tranquillity and to improve border relations—Education handicapped by want of the books destroyed under the Bolshevik regime—Tottering Austria—Minority rights in Czechoslovakia

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

HUNGARY is on the road to consolidation. Although still bitter because of the provisions of the Peace Treaty, she is trying her best to live on friendly terms with her neighbors, especially the secession States, as a political and economic necessity. At present the biggest gap seems to separate her from Rumania, because of the inclement treatment of Hungarians in Transylvania. Refugees still arrive in Budapest from this former part of Hungary, who give vivid stories of their persecution.

Several difficulties must be overcome before friendly relations can be established with this neighbor. What Hungary aims at is economic treaties, and the consequent lifting of the export ban. Although Hungarian money increased conspicuously in value recently, this rise is handicapped because of the obstacles put in the way of commercial traffic with neighbors. Rumania, especially, is slow to come to an understanding with Hungary in this respect.

Relations with Czechoslovakia have improved recently, because of the friendly exchange of views between spokesmen of both Governments on reopening commercial intercourse. Discussions toward this end have brought the date near, it is thought, when all disturbing conditions will be removed. Of course there remain grievances because of alleged disrespect for minority rights granted by the Peace Treaty, such as the political status of Hungarian-speaking citizens residing in Slovakia, and also their right to use the Hungarian language in their dealings with State offices and in their schools.

Decision regarding the four western counties bordering on Austria is eagerly sought. Hungary offers to withdraw entirely from the territory in question if Austria, on the other hand, will give Hungary a narrow strip on the eastern edge of this area, where a number of sugar refineries are located. The contention is that all the beets refined

there are produced in Hungary. Besides this, Hungary would grant certain customs concessions on Austrian products along the frontier. For a time Austria seemed inclined to consider the offer, but lately, as if encouraged by some of the Entente powers, she became less willing to compromise her claim established by the Peace Treaty, and indicated a desire to have the provisions executed literally. Parleys were still in progress when these pages went to press.

Although the internal political situation cannot be called tranquil, there is a manifest desire to overlook party lines and work in harmony for the good of the country. The new Ministry under Count Bethlen is supported on important matters by the two major parties in the National Assembly—the Farmers' Party and the Christian bloc. Law and order prevail, and freedom of speech, press and assembly is more and more rehabilitated. A mass meeting by Socialists on May 1 was allowed, and no disorders occurred. That such a meeting was permitted is considered an unmistakable step toward placating opposing groups. In strange contrast, a demonstration by the Christian Social Democrats planned on the opening day of an international congress by Christian Socialists, May 16, was forbidden. It is said that permission was withheld to prevent clashes between the Christian and non-Christian Socialists.

Count Julius Andrássy, having definitely aligned himself with the Christian bloc, delivered a masterly address in the National Assembly, taking sides unequivocally with Christian ideals and Christian Hungary, but he warned all who, under the cloak of such a program, would besmirch the name of Christianity and commit excesses against persons suspected of having supported the Bolshevik régime. He especially enjoined restraint toward citizens of the Jewish faith, and said that anti-Semitism had no place in the platform of a Christian party.

Jungerth, representing the Hungarian Government in its dealing with the Russian Soviet, announced that he had come to an understanding regarding the repatriation of Hungarian war prisoners still under Bolshevik control. The terms provide for their immediate repatriation if the Hungarian Government releases all persons sentenced to death or to more than ten years' imprisonment. The agreement is acceptable to both countries.

Albert Berzeviczy, Chairman of the Academy for Sciences; Julius Pekar, Assistant Secretary of Public Education; Julius Varga and other noted educators deplore the conditions that exist in schools and the shocking dearth of school books. Some schools have been closed for lack of textbooks. For lack of money and material, reprints cannot be made. The Bolsheviks are charged with the destruction of old books, which they described as promoting the interests of the bourgeoisie and a society built upon capitalism. Instead they inaugurated a system of free thought and enlightenment, especially on sex hygiene, and shocking revelations are now being made regarding their system of education.

Because of repeated charges in the foreign press that terrible deeds are committed in internment camps established by the Government to disinfect the nation of rabid theories, Baron Redding-Biberegg, head of the International Red Cross in Switzerland, was invited to inspect such camps. In his report he makes the following statements:

The unbiased truth is that conditions are satisfactory, and gross misrepresentations were published in the press. In fact, I have made my inspection tour to establish the number and identity of those interned who are citizens of foreign countries. I have advocated their release, and the Hungarian Government is more than ready to grant this. The only difficulty might arise in the case of the Galician Jews, because of the unwillingness of the Polish Government to permit these to cross the border. Uninfluenced by any motive, I might state that although on principle I do not believe in the necessity of internment camps, yet I find that all laws of humanity have been observed. The interned have not adequate clothing, and the American Relief Administration is doing its best to alleviate this need.

The whole country was roused to a high pitch of enthusiasm by the celebration of Count Albert Apponyi's fiftieth anniversary of public service, and, incidentally, of his seventy-fifth birthday. Hundreds of

Hungarian towns elected him an honorary Burgess, the National Assembly held a festival session, and special services were held in churches. Felicitations were sent to the aged statesman from all parts of the world, including America, especially by citizens of Hungarian birth.

AUSTRIA—Austria has not yet collapsed, but it is certainly tottering. In the early days of June it was left without a Government, as Dr. Mayr's Cabinet resigned, and the prospect of forming a more authoritative Cabinet is remote. The Government's fall was precipitated by the action of the annexationists, that is, the Pan Germans and other influential groups, who favored unification with Germany. The people are mainly in sympathy with this plan, at least on one score: They hope that inclusion with Germany would mean a brighter future for Austria. Racial sympathies have played a large part in the development of such sentiment. The Provinces of Tyrol and Salzburg have overwhelmingly voted in favor of such alignment, and Dr. Mayr, in view of the attitude of the Allies, especially France, and of the Financial Commission of the League of Nations, could do nothing but point out the conclusions and resign.

Dr. Mayr's warnings remained unheeded, because the various provinces are very loosely linked to one another. The financial outlook is gloomier than ever, because it is feared that, unless some strong hand intervenes, the Allied Commission will leave Austria to her fate. As a last resort it was proposed to hold a joint conference June 15 at Porta Rosa, near Trieste; but even if such a conference should decide on measures, their application is doomed because of the stanch refusal of the Pan Germans to consider anything without unification with Germany. The French, on the other hand, refuse to countenance anything of the kind, because it would strengthen Germany. The French, however, are encouraging the Austrians to yield nothing to the Hungarians on the question of the West Hungarian counties adjudged to Austria in Versailles.

Eleven former army officers, some of high rank, were placed on trial on the technical charge of having participated in the plot of former Emperor Charles to regain his throne. It is alleged that the officers

have recruited legionary troops and placed themselves at the disposal of Hungarian Carlists in pursuance of the plan.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA is trying to solve difficulties which arise over the position assumed by the German element in Bohemia and Moravia, and by the Hungarians in Slovakia; also by the Ruthenians and Ruthen-Magyars in Podkarpatska Rusinia. The question revolves mainly about the minority rights, and spokesmen of all parties seek an understanding to eliminate what can be termed "non-participation" in the affairs of State by the various groups. Rudolf Keller, a publicist of note, recently declared himself in favor of bringing about an alignment. He thinks that the differences can be smoothed out, provided the Czech Government will make some concessions. The solution lies in the admittance of nationality leaders to State offices, equality in all respects, the use of the mother-tongue, definite regulations of the quota of the former national indebtedness by the succession States, and initiation of a State budget system.

Magyar-speaking subjects of Podkarpatska Rusinia, together with some of the Ruthenian-speaking populace, clamor for recognition. Recently, a delegation composed mainly of members of the Hungarian-Ruthenian Party appeared in Prague and sought an audience with President Masaryk. They were not received by the President and had to make their plea to his secretary. They also left a voluminous memorandum in which they made the following claims:

Termination of authority by representa-

tives of the military in civil cases; regulation of the right to vote so that only those would vote who have resided in what was formerly Upper Hungary at least since Jan. 1, 1919; power of the National Assembly in Prague to determine autonomous rights of Ruthenia and to lay down the principles upon which the Ruthenian Legislature should be called into life; reinstatement of all Hungarian functionaries discharged before the sanction of the Peace Treaty for refusal to swear allegiance; recall of administration officials instated since the occupation unless they speak the Magyar or Ruthenian language; restitution of detached territories within the counties of Saros, Zemplen and Abauj; establishment of parallel classes in public, trade and high schools with Magyar as the language of teaching; compulsion of State and municipal authorities to accept papers drawn in the Hungarian language; the taking of a new census, free from falsifications; the establishment of free trade, and the utilization of all revenues derived from forestry and operation of mines for the promotion of interests of that part of the country which is devoted to these industries. Despite these difficulties, conditions seem to improve, and agitation against Czech overlordship is on the decline.

Czechoslovakia has reached an agreement with Austria regarding the gold reserve in the Austro-Hungarian bank. The Czechs will receive 15,000,000 gold crowns and will be permitted to purchase the bank's buildings in the country at the inventory price, less 20 per cent. Czechoslovakia on June 8 also made an amicable arrangement for the exchange of several villages on the border. [See Page 699.]

GERMAN WAR CASUALTIES 6,888,982

GERMANY'S casualties in the World War were placed at 6,888,982 by Dr. William S. Bainbridge of New York, commander in the Naval Medical Corps, in a recent address at Boston before the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States. The figure was determined, he said, through two years' service in Germany during the war as an observer and from the study of official and semi-official publications and statements in German, Dutch and Scandinavian maga-

zines. According to Commander Bainbridge's tabulations, the German losses were divided as follows: Killed in battle, 1,531,148; missing, 991,340; wounded, 4,211,481; died of disease, 155,013. It had been absolutely established, however, he said, that 90 per cent. of the German wounded were refitted for service in the field or at the base hospitals, or rendered self-supporting. Of the sick and wounded who reached the home hospitals in Germany only 1.6 per cent. died.

THE TURKISH DRIFT TOWARD MOSCOW

How a complete reversal of the situation in the Near East was brought about by Mustapha Kemal's rejection of the new allied proposals, and the conclusion of a strong alliance of the Turkish Nationalists with the Bolshevik Government of Russia.

THIRTY days have brought a change, at least on the surface, of the Near East question as it emerged from the London conference last Spring. In the middle of May hostilities between the Greeks and the Turkish Nationalists had ceased; a rapprochement had been effected between the latter's Government at Angora and the Sultan's Government at Stamboul; at Angora the Grand Parliament was sympathetically debating the report of Bekir Sami Bey on the London Conference, the proposals of the Entente modifying the Treaty of Sèvres, and the arrangements he had made with France and Italy; Greece lastly had asked the good offices of Great Britain to intercede at Constantinople and was feverishly seeking a formula by which it might accept the Entente proposals modifying the Sèvres Treaty and still save her face.

Now all is changed. The Government in which Bekir Sami Bey was Foreign Minister has been overthrown; his work at London has been repudiated; the extreme Nationalists, strongly backed by the Moscow Government, are in control at Angora; their motto is "No surrender; no compromise"—no surrender to the Allies; no compromise with the Sultan. Finally Greece is on the point of renewing hostilities, with the assured aid of Great Britain and Italy and with the possible aid of France.

The circumstances which led to this change prove either that the Turk is at his old game of playing one nation off against the others or that the influence of the Moscow Bolshevik Government, whether exerted through promise of material support or threats of coercion, has proved too much for Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

As a token of its good faith the Entente had declared its neutrality in the conflict between the Greeks and the Nationalists, which was a real aid to the latter; Great

Britain had released the Turkish prisoners held at Malta; the Italian military Government at Adalia had acknowledged the supremacy of the Turkish authorities there and was preparing to withdraw from the territory; a similar evacuation on the part of the French in Cilicia had released the Cilician Turkish Army Corps for action against the Greeks; there were almost daily conferences between Stamboul and Angora under the direction of the Interallied Commission.

In the first week in May, during the celebration of the first anniversary of the Grand Parliament, Mustapha Kemal Pasha made a speech in which he took occasion to praise the work of Bekir Sami Bey at London, which, he said, gave every promise of early peace; for, as he pointed out, with the acceptance of the Entente proposals and the ratification of the treaties with France and Italy—all, however, capable of modification—the Greeks would be obliged to hasten the steps toward capitulation which they had already taken.

A fortnight later he made before the same body an address which told quite a different story:

Gentlemen: We are the only victors among the vanquished nations. We have conquered the Armenians in the east and the Greeks in the west. We have entered into agreements with the Western powers on condition that the interests of our country are safeguarded, and we have assured them of our peaceful intentions.

The British statesmen alone pretend to ignore our pacific aims. Among the vanquished nations of 1918, Turkey alone has succeeded in not remaining vanquished, thanks to the provident foresight of our policy and the valor of our arms. Despite the efforts of our enemies during the last twelve months, the Treaty of Sèvres no longer exists, neither in law nor in fact.

They wanted to break up our country and so dismember us. We have prevented it. Today we have powerful and good friends in the East. We have entered into sincere pacts

with the Governments of Azerbaijan, with Northern Caucasus, with Afghanistan and with the Mussulman population of Mesopotamia and Syria, with whom we have the most intimate understanding.

We have precious relations with Persia, Armenia and Georgia. But above all we have established most friendly and fraternal relations with the Russian Soviet Republic, which has promised to support and aid us with all its power, so that we are in a good way. We shall try to strengthen these relations by a program of common action, which will be drawn on fundamental principles at the coming conference at Moscow, in which our delegates will participate. There is no doubt that these efforts will be entirely in conformity with the desires of our people. We shall establish a popular Government, which will govern according to the exigencies of civilization and humanity.

In another speech, a few days later, he went further and said:

We really expected nothing from the London Conference and based our hopes on Moscow. The excellent results of our recent conference at Moscow proved finally the harmony and interests which exist between our two peoples. The Entente diplomats in London, being hostile to Russia, were naturally also hostile to Turkey. Russia and Turkey stand inevitably in similar relations to the imperialistic powers of Europe, and the more we stiffen the struggle in common the more we shall ultimately gain.

What had, meanwhile, happened at Angora?

The trouble began when Bekir Sami Bey presented the Entente proposals and the French and Italian treaties, and recommended the immediate acceptance of the terms in regard to Smyrna and Thrace. He was supported in this by twenty members. Then Kemal Pasha waved the proposals aside and asked that the treaties be considered. A great uproar, led by Remzi Pasha, a cousin of Javid Bey, and Mukhtar, arose in opposition. The clauses which were particularly obnoxious to the extremists were the economic clauses granting rights of exploitation in Asia Minor, despite the fact that these rights were to be granted only on condition that collaboration should be made with Turkish enterprise. Both the proposals and the treaties were unanimously rejected and the Cabinet, of which Bekir Sami Bey was Foreign Minister, resigned.

In Stamboul this action was interpreted as meaning "no concessions to the Entente Powers; down with the reigning Sultan!" In Constantinople also it was declared that the extremists were particularly anxious to

repudiate the French treaty, which fact, on the admission of the Old Turks, proves conclusively that Bolshevist agents at Angora completely controlled the Grand Parliament.

The Cabinet of extremists, formed May 22, was made up as follows:

Fevzi Pasha.....	Grand Vizier and War
Yussuf Kemal Bey....	Foreign Affairs
Ata Bey.....	Interior
Fehmi Bey.....	Sheik-ul-Islam
Hassan Bey.....	Finance
Jelal Bey.....	Supplies
Refik Bey.....	Public Health
Refik Shefket Bey....	Justice
Omer Lutfi Bey.....	Public Works
Hamdullah Subhi Bey.	Education

Two other events at Angora, said in Constantinople to have been brought about by the Bolsheviki, were the refusal of the Kemalist Government to receive the son of the Turkish heir presumptive and the hanging of Mustapha Segir, an Anglo-Indian, as a spy.

The circumstances of the first event were as follows: Prince Omer Faruk Effendi, son of the Sultan Abdul Medjid Effendi, left Constantinople on April 28, telling his father that he could no longer restrain himself from joining the Nationalists. It appears, however, that the Angora Government was suspicious and declined to receive him. Thereupon Abdul Medjid sent a protest to Kemal Pasha, as he considered this refusal to be an insult not only to himself and his son but also to the Sultanate. He declared that all the members of his family had the right to go to Angora and also to visit the Turkish Army at the front.

The case of the British-Indian aroused an even greater sensation. The accused, Mustapha Segir, or Sachir, was publicly hanged in Parliament Square at Angora on May 27, after a trial of eighteen days by the so-called Court of Independence. The best account of the trial, which was published in the Bolshevist Chrezvitchaika of Constantinople, may be summarized as follows:

The courtroom was crowded. The prisoner gave his name as Mustapha Segir, and said that he was of Indian parentage and that his age was 33. He added that he was formerly a British Consul in Persia. His defense was that he had come to Angora under British instructions, to work for an amicable feeling on the part of the Kemalists toward Great Britain. Asked whether Earl Curzon had given him his instructions, he answered, "Yes, in part."

Documents said to have been handed by

the prisoner to the British Intelligence Department here were brought up, containing details concerning Kemal, where Kemal lived and the number and speed of Kemal's automobile. A Turkish associate of the prisoner, in giving evidence, detailed other general instructions, such as the finding out of the relations between the Bolsheviks and the Kemalists, what divisions existed in the Angora Parliament, and how to profit thereby; whether the majority were for war or peace by negotiation and how far the Kemalist majority was really hostile to Britain.

The President of the court asked the accused who was really behind him, and to this he replied that in the Foreign Office in London there were two currents of policy, one which aimed at avoiding a widening of the breach between Britain and Turkey, while the other was militarist and aimed at strengthening Greece and wiping out Turkey. He was in touch with the former group. Despite the desire to maintain amicable Anglo-Turkish relations, it appeared, it was also part of the policy of this group to stamp out the Kemalist movement. In this it was allegedly working with the Sultan, the Imperial Court and the Turkish Liberal Party at Constantinople.

No attention was paid at Angora to the appeals made by the British High Commissioner on behalf of the unfortunate Anglo-Indian and he was executed in accordance with the sentence. The case was said to have decided the Interallied Commission at Constantinople to raise the inhibition which prevented Greek warships from passing through the Straits into the Black Sea, where they will now be able to prevent the Nationalists from receiving any more Bolshevik aid through that route. It was expected that the execution would produce a profound impression in India. In addition to this defiance of Great Britain, the Nationalist authorities took no action to release any British prisoners in exchange for the Turkish prisoners released at Malta.

Bekir Sami had declared at London that the Kurds were perfectly happy under Turkish rule. As a disproof of this declaration, no sooner had he returned to Angora than a Kurdish revolt began. At Mergifoun, on May 31, the Kurds, according to information received in Constantinople, defeated the Kemalist troops and took 2,000 prisoners. The rebels demanded that the Bolshevik delegation be sent home and that negotiations be at once opened with the

Greeks by Muktar Pasha for peace. At Angora it was believed that the Kurdish revolt was organized at Stamboul.

On June 9 there was a serious conference of British Cabinet Ministers at the country home of the Prime Minister to consider the new situation in the Near East. Developments along certain lines, it was reported, may call for a change in the policy of the Government. In this case effective aid would be given the Greeks in the shape of munitions and the Black Sea ports of the southern littoral might be blockaded.

It was reported in Athens that British, Italian and French aid to the Greeks up to June 9 had gone much further than the respective Governments had officially admitted. The Greeks were said to be particularly well reinforced in the way of tanks, airplanes and gas shells. According to a Constantinople account they had in line 120,000 men, of whom 80,000 were effectives, while the Nationalists had only 100,000, with but 60 per cent. effectives. According to M. Gounaris and other members of the Greek Government who visited the Smyrna front in the first week of May, the new situation had greatly improved the morale of the Greek Army.

King Constantine, who, it has been reported, outlined the new Greek offensive—for it will be remembered that he was a successful commander of Greek troops against the Turks in 1912 and against the Bulgars in 1913—arrived in Smyrna with a large staff on June 12. Before leaving Athens he issued the following proclamation:

I depart to put myself at the head of my army. Over there, where for centuries Hellenism has fought with the aid of the Almighty, victory will crown the combats of our race, which moves irresistibly toward its destinies. Our predominance there today will assure, as in the time of our ancestors, the realization of the high ideals of liberty, equality and justice.

The last of our race guides our arms and our admirable record of civilization lays upon us duties of which we have a profound appreciation. We have even the right to proclaim with pride that we are accomplishing our purposes. The Greek people in sacred union confers upon us this duty by its incomparable sacrifices.

Confiding in the Divine aid, in the spirit of our heroic army and in the unconquerable force of the Greek ideal, I go where I am called by our supreme national aspirations.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPAN

Plans of the Peking Government to resist Japanese aggression and to prevent Great Britain from sanctioning further encroachments—Dr. Sun Yat-sen, elected President of China by the Canton Assembly, appeals for recognition to the United States

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

CHINA, big, unwieldy and flabby, is in the hard grip of Japan, but she is struggling. A Tokio paper not long ago stated that the Chinese Government was determined to lay the Shantung issue before the next Assembly of the League of Nations. Not long ago the Peking Government cabled Mr. Wellington Koo—the Chinese representative on the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva—that China's failure at the first League Assembly to protest against the Japanese settlement had created a storm at home; he was therefore directed to pave the way for such a protest in the fullest and most careful way. The Peking Government, following its fixed policy of resistance to Japanese designs, formally warned the British Government in May that, in case of renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in July, it would repudiate any clauses tending to impair the integrity of China. The decision of Great Britain regarding this renewal, it may be said here, awaits the assembling in London of the Imperial Council. Canada is known to be opposed to embodying in the new treaty any clause which would pledge the United Kingdom to assist Japan in case she and a third nation should go to war, on the ground that this might lead to a situation in which Great Britain and her dominions would find themselves compelled to fight the United States—a possibility which Canada, loyal to American ties and traditions, considers unthinkable.

China is playing a waiting game. The boycott of Japanese goods goes on, causing the loss to Japan of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Peking is working to get a decision of the League of Nations on Japan's octopuslike encirclings in China itself and in Manchuria. The Chinese leaders are striving to prevent the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Bertram Lenox Simpson, a British authority on Asiatic subjects, widely known under his pen name of Putnam Weale, passed through New York

in May on his way to London to oppose the renewal of the Treaty with Japan. "If China is forced by Japan to commit suicide," he told an interviewer, "she means to put up a big fight doing it!" Though Japan had lost out on most of the outrageous twenty-one demands, he added, she had made her position in Shantung and Manchuria permanent by acquiring railway concessions for ninety-nine years, and had strengthened her economic control by multiplying her own postoffices, by securing 80 per cent. of the mineral resources of the country, by fighting every effort of the Chinese Government to increase its revenue independently of Japan, by establishing a chain of garrisons on various pretexts, and these, once established, had never been known to be withdrawn. As to the consortium, Putnam Weale declared that Japan had no fear that China would derive any benefit from that, inasmuch as she knew that "the Chinese themselves dislike the proposed measure so much that they will make it unworkable." All in all, he implied, the situation is deplorable from China's standpoint, but she is resolved to publish Japan's aggressions to the world and to fight for her liberty to the end.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected by the Canton Assembly President of the Provisional Southern Government of China—of all China, he himself declared in an appeal for recognition sent to the Government of the United States on May 15—and formally assumed office at Canton on May 5. In the note to Washington Dr. Sun—who was the first Provisional President of the Chinese Republic, and who has rallied to his support a number of prominent Chinese, notably Mr. Wu Ting-fang, the former Ambassador—described the present situation as follows:

"While the Peking Government is fast crumbling from sheer hollowness, foreign domination tends to spread from North to South. The existence of China as a nation

is in jeopardy. Since the unconstitutional dissolution of the National Assembly in June, 1917, no *de jure* Government has existed in Peking. * * * As the National Assembly which elected me represents the whole country, so it shall be my first endeavor to unite all provinces and territories of the republic under one Government, which shall be progressive and enlightened. * * * The legitimate rights of foreign powers * * * shall be scrupulously respected. * * * Foreign capital and expert knowledge in pursuance of the open door policy will be welcome. * * * I appeal to the Governments of the friendly powers to withdraw recognition from the *soi-disant* Government, which is avowedly no *de jure* Government, and which is proving itself not even a *de facto* Government, and in the same manner in which they recognized the Republican Government formed by the National Assembly in 1913. I request that they accord recognition to this Government, formed now by the same Assembly.

Dr. Sun's appointment elicited from the Military Governors and commanders in the North a joint declaration denouncing him for having ignored the Peking President's plans for a reconciliation of the North and South; they threatened to organize a punitive expedition against the Canton insurgents. Such an undertaking, especially if the previously announced campaign against the insurgent Mongolians takes place, means more demoralization in the vast, disorganized land, more confusion in the already bankrupt Treasury, but the Tuchuns are actuated only by present actualities.

Pankiang, the last base for defense of Outer Mongolia, fell to the Mongols and their Russian allies under General Ungern-Sternberg late in April. The Chita Government was apprehensive of the possibility that this lieutenant of Semenov seeks to build out of Mongolia an anti-Bolshevist empire, though the Mongols had sent peace emissaries to Peking. Chinese military dispatches dated June 5 reported that the Hutukhtu, or Living Buddha, had died at Urga, and that his widow and General Ungern-Sternberg were administering Outer Mongolia together. The Chinese commander on the Mongol front had asked for reinforcements to meet the new offensive threatened by General Chang Tsao-lin to retake Urga, captured by the Mongolian-Russian forces in February, 1921.

The three super-Tuchuns—Chang Tsao-lin, Tsao-kun and Wang Chan-yuan—held

an important conference at Tientsin early in May. They haled before them the Prime Minister and several Cabinet Ministers to discuss military and financial policies. The conference foreshadowed important changes in the Peking Cabinet, responsive to the undoubted political power wielded by these military leaders, especially Chang Tsao-lin and Tsao-kun. These changes were announced on May 16 as follows:

Chi Yao-shan, Minister of the Interior.

Li Shih-wei, Finance.

Tsai Chen-chsun, War.

Admiral Li Mingh-sin, Navy.

Chang Chih-man, Communications.

Li Shih-wei, who is a Director of the Sino-Japanese Industrial Company, brings back Japanese influence into the Cabinet. The utter confusion of the finances, the impossibility of demobilization, and the serious situation in Mongolia make the Premier's task very difficult. The Government's lack of money has brought about the wholesale resignation of professors and teachers in the Peking University. The Government's attempts to negotiate a trade agreement with the new Far Eastern republic have been checked, mainly through Japanese opposition.

Abundant rains in Northern China have put an end to famine conditions there, according to a cablegram from the American Minister, Charles R. Crane, on June 10. Millions of lives have been saved since last September by American contributions. In March 6,000,000 people were being fed by the China Famine Fund. A month later American relief organizations were feeding 9,000,000 Chinese. Surprisingly large contributions were made also by Chinamen to the famine fund. Though the famine has abated, the relief work will be continued by church organizations, in order to provide for the thousands of orphans. Subscriptions made through the China Famine Fund totaled \$4,374,206. This sum, with the million previously contributed by the Red Cross, \$1,250,000 by church agencies, and \$250,000 by Chinese, made the grand total exceed \$6,874,000.

China's commercial treaty with Germany, signed on May 20, consists of seven articles, deals with the mutual right of appointing diplomatic and consular representatives, and gives to the nationals of both countries the right to travel and trade in

all places where the nationals of other States are permitted to do business. Nationals will be under the jurisdiction of local courts and will be eligible to equality in taxes and other imports on the same basis as other nationals. The agreement is to be the basis of a definitive treaty.

Supplementary notes exchanged specify that China is entitled to apply Article 264

of the Versailles Peace Treaty regarding import charges against Chinese goods. Germany agrees to reimburse China for internment expenditures, and also to pay in advance a portion of the indemnity equivalent to half the proceeds of liquidated German property in cash and railway bonds. Germany is to assist Chinese students.

PERILS OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

Alarm over the dangers of Japan's colonial out-reachings evidenced in the holding of an Extraordinary Council at Tokio—Situation in China and Siberia

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

THE various kinds of trouble emanating from the annexed or occupied regions on the mainland of Asia are in the aggregate alarming to all thoughtful Japanese. An extraordinary council was held in Tokio, beginning May 18, which discussed the measures to be taken to cope with the situation in Japan's colonial ventures. This council was attended by the highest Japanese military and civil officials of the colonial territories. The sessions were secret, and no official report of what was decided was issued; it was semi-officially understood, however, that the Japanese occupation of Siberia, the Shantung controversy with China, and the attitude of the United States toward Japanese aspirations in the Far East were the main topics of discussion.

Regarding the Siberian occupation, the Kenseikai, or Opposition Party, headed by the former Premier, Viscount Kato, has been unwearied in its attacks on the policy of the Government. Warning after warning has been issued by this leader, stressing the hostility which the presence of the Japanese troops was engendering. The Asahi, a well-known paper of Osaka, was quoted by the Japan Chronicle on April 14 to the effect that an opinion in favor of withdrawal from Siberia was gaining strength in Government circles and was finding support among officers of the General Staff. M. Tanaka, the Minister of War, soon to retire because of illness, was reported to be anxious to effect this withdrawal before

his retirement. The Jiji Shimpō, however, declared that Japan would withdraw only one and a half divisions—that she had no intention to evacuate the Siberian territory completely.

This announcement antedated the Kappel coup in Vladivostok, which overthrew the Provisional Government—virtually controlled by the Chita Republic of the Far East—and extended to Nikolsk and other places (May 24). The military situation was so threatening that the people of the Maritime Province appealed to Japan for protection, and it was stated that Japan had promised to send troop contingents to certain points. This new situation, of course, made the prospect of evacuation more remote, as Japan's whole point has been that she cannot withdraw her forces until the political conditions in Siberia are stabilized.

The strained situation with China over Shantung remained in statu quo, though it was decided at the Tokio council that every effort must be made to persuade Peking to negotiate. The Government was called upon to answer a number of opposition attacks, based on the concessions allegedly made to the consortium powers regarding Japan's special privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia. The import of its answer was that though it had consented to exclude these territories nominally, it had still reserved the rights of Japan generally in all territory where she had acquired special privileges. Regarding Korea, the Nichi Nichi declared

that Japan was seeking to conclude a special agreement with China to extend consular and police control of the million or more discontented and even rebellious Koreans in Manchuria and Siberia. The Tokio Government was also considering economic measures for the benefit of destitute Koreans in Manchuria, with the object of combating their disaffection. In her opposition to Bolshevism Japan did not waver; her attitude toward the semi-Bolshevist republic of the Far East at Chita continued to be one of watchful waiting and she maintained her rejection of all trade overtures by Chita pending the attainment of greater stability. Justification of this reserve was found in the Kappel coup, which was aimed at Chita.

With regard to the controversy with the United States regarding Japan's mandate in the Pacific, notably over the Island of Yap—a situation for which Viscount Kato vigorously denounced the Government at a meeting of his party on May 26—it was authoritatively announced from Tokio on May 27 that Japan would not reply directly to Secretary of State Hughes's note to the Council of the League of Nations on the question, but would initiate a series of diplomatic exchanges with Washington in an effort to reach an understanding. The Japanese negotiators at the communications conference in Washington, which went into recess toward the end of May, let it be known that Japan was not averse to some kind of international control of the cables, provided this could be arranged without impairing Japan's political control of the Island of Yap.

Japan has found one more cause for uneasiness in the arrival at Washington of one Soon Hyun, "Diplomatic Agent from the President and Provisional Government of Korea to the United States of America,"

and his presentation to the State Department of a lengthy proclamation denouncing Japan's acts toward Korea and appealing for American recognition. After recapitulating the various steps by which Japan established her rule over Korea, the appeal concludes as follows:

The autocratic and militaristic Government of the Empire of Japan deliberately spurned and broke its solemn pledge and promise to the Government and people of Korea and refused to withdraw the Japanese military and naval forces from Korea and Korean ports, when and after the war between Japan and Russia was terminated, but, instead, by unjust and cruel application of military force and arms, made captive our rulers and all our Government officials and, after first declaring a protectorate over our beloved country, finally attempted and assumed to annex Korea and make of it an integral part of the Empire of Japan.

Earnest and patriotic Koreans who refuse to recognize the alleged right or authority of the autocratic and militaristic Government of the Empire of Japan to rule over Korea and its 20,000,000 people look to the United States of America, as the great Republic, symbolizing in them an ever-burning beacon light of liberty which will ultimately lead the nations of the world to a universal reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of civilized mankind.

In an effort to force the Government to cut down national expenditures, the Opposition Party began late in May an organized study of the possibilities of at least partial disarmament, on which the leaders expect to base the policy of the party in the next Diet. The public campaign of Mr. Ozaki Yukio is said to have done much toward focusing public interest on this question, though the more prominent men in both parties incline to the view that little or nothing can be done in the way of disarmament until the principal allied nations and Japan take up the problem at the initiation of the League of Nations.

MEXICO'S ATTITUDE ON PROPERTY RIGHTS

President Obregon and Secretary Hughes thrash out serious differences regarding the guarantees to be given to American owners of oil wells in Mexico—A proffered treaty that carries recognition with it—Increase of Bolshevism in Mexico

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

SECRETARY Hughes brought the discussion of Mexican recognition to a head on June 7 when he announced that the fundamental question was the safeguarding of property rights against confiscation. With that object in view he had proposed a treaty of amity and commerce in which Mexico would agree to safeguard property rights that had existed before the Carranza constitution of 1917 was promulgated. He did not, however, define what he meant by property rights, whether investment of American capital in useful production and development or the acquiring by American capital of vast land and other monopolies, wherever they could be had, and by whatever means. It is the latter feature to which Mexico objects and which she is trying to eliminate by the Constitution of 1917.

What the Harding Administration is seeking to achieve is a mutual accommodation between the United States and Mexico under which there would be no confiscation of legitimate American vested rights and interests. But Mexico hesitates to sign a pledge not to disturb alleged rights vested in monopolies. That is the crux of the difference between the two Governments. The making in proper form of a treaty recognizing property rights, but not monopoly rights, would at once end the controversy and would result automatically in granting recognition to Mexico.

The essential portions of Secretary Hughes's statement of June 7 are as follows:

The fundamental question which confronts the Government of the United States in considering its relations with Mexico is the safeguarding of property rights against confiscation. Mexico is free to adopt any policy which she pleases with respect to her public lands, but she is not free to destroy without compensation valid titles which have been

obtained by American citizens under Mexican laws. A confiscatory policy strikes not only at the interests of particular individuals, but at the foundations of international intercourse. * * *

This question is vital because of the provisions inserted in the Mexican Constitution promulgated in 1917. If these provisions are to be put into effect retroactively, the properties of American citizens will be confiscated on a great scale. This would constitute an international wrong of the gravest character, and this Government could not submit to its accomplishment. If it be said that this wrong is not intended, and that the Constitution of Mexico of 1917 will not be construed to permit, or enforced so as to effect, confiscation, then it is important that this should be made clear by guarantees in proper form. The provisions of the Constitution and the Executive Decrees which have been formulated with confiscatory purposes, make it obviously necessary that the purposes of Mexico should be definitely set forth.

Accordingly this Government has proposed a treaty of amity and commerce with Mexico, in which Mexico will agree to safeguard the rights of property which attached before the Constitution of 1917 was promulgated. The question, it will be observed, is not one of a particular administration, but of the agreement of the nation in proper form which has become necessary as an international matter because of the provisions of its domestic legislation. If Mexico does not contemplate a confiscatory policy, the Government of the United States can conceive of no possible objection to the treaty. * * *

The question of recognition is a subordinate one, but there will be no difficulty as to this, for, if General Obregon is ready to negotiate a proper treaty and it is drawn so as to be negotiated with him, the making of the treaty in proper form will accomplish the recognition of the Government that makes it.

President Obregon has repeatedly stated that he would sign no formal treaty or protocol as a condition of recognition. He said on May 20:

The acceptance and signing of a convention to obtain recognition by the United

States would be equal to placing in doubt the rights that Mexico has to all the privileges international law establishes. Mexico is not a new State. Her rights cannot be doubted as a sovereign country. Mexico will evade none of her obligations, accepting, moreover, all the responsibilities of her situation.

On May 22, George T. Summerlin, Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy at Mexico City, left Washington with the memorandum prepared by Secretary Hughes, which, it was said, avoided any reference to the existing controversy, but affirmatively guaranteed the rights of American property and American citizens in Mexico. Mr. Summerlin arrived in Mexico City on May 27, and presented the memorandum to President Obregon. The latter's reply was received in Washington on June 3 and was considered not entirely satisfactory. He stood out for his original contention that negotiations must be conducted with both parties acting on the basis of equality. But Washington is not disposed to abandon the upper hand, and intervention to coerce Mexico into adopting the Administration view has already been suggested. It was stated that no foreign Government would object to anything the United States chose to do to Mexico. The interests in Mexico of British, French and Dutch companies are mainly concerned with oil, are similar to those of the American concerns, and look to the United States to act in their behalf. The propaganda in news dispatches on the controversy with Mexico is enormous.

The Mexican Foreign Minister on June 9 announced the willingness of Mexico to agree to some of the suggestions contained in Mr. Summerlin's memorandum after certain changes had been made by the United States Government. It was confidently expected that these changes would be made. A note from President Obregon asked for forbearance on the part of the United States until its suggestions could be carried out in a legal manner.

That there is some danger from Bolshevism in Mexico all parties admit. On May 1 communists in Morelia, the capital of Michoacan, rushed the cathedral guards, destroyed the images and raised the red and black flag of their creed on the church tower. Police easily dispersed them and restored order. On Thursday, May 12, a

mass meeting was called to express indignation at the event. Some 15,000 persons assembled in the Aztec Garden and were preparing to march through the town. Suddenly they were fired on by police and soldiers, apparently under orders of the chief of police, who was present. He had attempted to persuade the paraders to disperse and on their refusal the clash followed.

Radicals among the spectators joined the police in firing on the crowd, and in a few minutes the streets were filled with fighting men, women, and children. More than a hundred persons were wounded and a score killed, among the latter being an Inspector of Police and a prominent Red leader, named Isaac Arriaga, who was also chief of the local agrarian commission, then holding hearings on land cases. Federal troops restored order and replaced the city police, patrolling the streets. A manifesto was issued from the headquarters of the Catholic women of Mexico to observe May 17, 18 and 19 as days of mourning for the victims of the riots at Morelia.

On Friday, May 13, mobs bearing red flags took possession of the capitol in Mexico City while Congress was sitting. Their leaders mounted the tribune and made subversive speeches. Some members who ventured to protest were roughly handled and were thrown out of the hall. Only the prompt arrival of Yaqui Indian battalions, it is said, saved the building from destruction and cleared out the Reds. President Obregon immediately instructed the prosecuting attorney to investigate all the facts and bring to justice those who took part in the disgraceful demonstration.

These events strengthened the Liberal Constitutionalists, who form the dominant political party, with Obregon himself as its leader. Hitherto reckoned extremely liberal, they have been joined by Catholic and independent members in the line-up against the radical groups. A memorial signed by 138 Liberal Constitutionalist Deputies and several Senators was sent to President Obregon on May 17, urging him to deal vigorously with the ultra-radicals, warning him that he might meet the fate of Francisco Madero if he fails to change his policy, and advising that Elias Calles, Secretary of the Interior, and Adolfo de la Huerta, the former Provisional President

and now Secretary of the Treasury, be dropped from the Cabinet as having encouraged the radicals.

President Obregon issued orders prohibiting mass meetings, parades and all kinds of demonstrations. Nevertheless, disorders continued. On June 4 the American Embassy was guarded by police armed with rifles following notice that a group of Italian anarchists had planned to blow up the embassy. On June 5 a bomb was placed inside the palace of Archbishop Orozco y Jimenez of Guadalajara, which exploded and destroyed the south side of the building.

The Archbishop was not at home. The Knights of Columbus called meetings to discuss measures to protect the lives of church officials and a group of young Mexicans planned to start a newspaper to combat Red doctrines.

A revolutionary plot in the State of Oaxaca appears to have had ramifications in all parts of the republic. Followers of Carranza boasted that some Mexicans and American oil men had organized a campaign in Washington to place Esteban Cantu in the Presidency, with Manuel Cahero as Vice President, and to force Mexico to return to the Constitution of 1857. Plotters planned to capture the city of Oaxaca and had established headquarters in a school building near by. It was surrounded early on June 4 and a dozen men were arrested, among them José Sanchez Juarez, grandson of Benito Juarez, Mexico's great reform President, and Jesus Acevedo, former Governor of Oaxaca. Documents seized are said to have recognized Félix Diaz as their chief. Simultaneous outbreaks were planned for June 6 in Guadalajara, Morelia, Monterrey, Saltillo, Torreon, Chihuahua and other smaller cities. General Gonzalo Enrile, who was taken at Oaxaca, was shot while attempting to escape from prison. General Fernando Vizcaino was caught in Mexico City, court-martialed and shot. He was chief of staff of General Pablo Gonzales and documents found on him showed

a combination between Gonzales and Cantu, the ousted Governor of Lower California.

Mexican outlaws in Yucatan sacked a hacienda owned by Edward Thompson, a former United States Consular officer, destroying valuable historical documents and antique Indian relics, the result of twenty-six years' collecting. Mexico will be asked to indemnify. Elmer Buchanan, an American on the ranch of A. M. Berkeley, was killed and another American wounded near Tampico on June 1.

General Maximilian Kloss, an Austrian in Carranza's war department, was shot and killed before his home in Mexico City on May 21. Obregon had made him Consul General at Berlin, but he had been recalled four months ago for special duty in the war office.

Mexican railways, previously under the dual management of the Treasury and the Department of Communications, were transferred directly to the Executive Department by order of President Obregon on May 30, as a result of the recent strike.

A decree was issued on June 7 announcing that petroleum companies must pay an average increase of 25 per cent. in export taxes on their products, beginning July 1. It is expected that this increase will net the Government about \$15,000,000. The proceeds, it was announced, would be used solely in making payments on Mexico's foreign debts. This is the first move made to begin settlement of these debts which have been in default since 1913. The decree, which is based on the law of May 8, 1917, is aimed at the prevention of excessive production, the protection of the nation's oil reserves and at compelling exporters to pay toward the national expenses a proportionate amount of their profits. American oil interests denounced the decree as confiscation, and appealed to the State Department to interfere in their behalf. Another step in Mexican financial reform was contained in a decree of June 8 prohibiting the importation of any foreign money except gold or the circulation of any such currency after July 1.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

COSTA RICA on May 15 ratified the agreement to join the Central American Union, which thus becomes a strong federal republic, consisting of the four States of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador and Costa Rica. Only Nicaragua held out, unfortunately cutting off land communication between Costa Rica and the rest of the new republic. She feared that entrance into the union might in some way involve her rights under the Bryan-Chamorro treaty, which provided for the possible building of an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua by the United States. There is nothing, however, in the Central American pact to sustain this stand. Article 4 is a specific pledge to carry out faithfully all previous international treaties to which the several States had bound themselves.

Speaking on June 1 at a luncheon in honor of Maximo H. Zepeda, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister, who was about to leave for Europe, Secretary Hughes gave a cordial indorsement to the Central American Federation, saying it would "in the opinion of this Government be a happy result, as it would seem that important advantages would accrue through united effort in the field of common interest." This, it was thought, would be the means of inducing Nicaragua to join the union. Nevertheless she maintains her separate legations, while Guatemala on June 5 voted to close her legations in Cuba, England and Spain.

The first gas well ever discovered in Costa Rica has been brought in at Cahunité, about 180 miles west of the Panama Canal. Gas was struck at a depth of about 800 feet, and the estimated flow was a million cubic feet daily.

GUATEMALA — A strong plea for immigrants was made by Dr. Julio Bianchi, Guatemalan Minister, at a conference on world trade in New York on May 17. The United States, he said, had the capital, Europe had the people and Latin-America had the land. The people want to leave Europe, America wants to employ her

capital, Guatemala needs the development which the two together could give.

A cattle company financed by Americans is negotiating for the purchase of 17,000 acres of coast land near Puerto Barrios, on the Atlantic, now covered by a dense tropical forest containing valuable mahogany trees. These would be cleared and sold, and the land be used for raising cattle.

The United States, it was reported from Washington on June 3, was about to urge Guatemala to release from prison Estrada Cabrera, former President, who was deposed by the revolution of April, 1920.

PANAMA.—Instead of acquiescing in the settlement of the Costa Rican boundary dispute, as affirmed in Washington, Panama appealed to South American nations to intervene in her controversy with the United States, sending envoys to Peru, Argentina, Brazil and Chile to demand that final disposition of the disputed area be left to a commission from the Latin-American nations and the United States. Panama also sent her Foreign Minister, Narciso Garay, to Washington to make a final appeal to Secretary Hughes. He presented an opinion rendered by Dr. Bustamante, the Cuban authority on international law, that Chief Justice White exceeded his jurisdiction as arbiter of the dispute and that Panama is therefore justified in refusing to accept the award, Señor Garay met President Harding on June 7 and expected to have a conference with Secretary Hughes, but there were no indications of any change in the attitude of the United States.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE.—The Secretary of War on June 2 named a commission to be sent to Panama to investigate the entire civil administration of the Canal Zone. The present system, Mr. Weeks explained, was wholly one of State socialism, practically the entire population being on the Government payroll, employes being furnished with living quarters and buying provisions from Government commissaries at cost, while wages are 25 per cent. higher

than for similar work elsewhere. He believes considerable money can be saved by a thorough reorganization.

SALVADOR—Earthquakes in Salvador on May 14 were followed in June by a four-day flow of hot water from the vol-

cano of San Miguel and a terrific storm which swept down from the mountain, destroying twelve villages and ruining crops.

American fire insurance companies were reported on May 16 to be canceling policies in San Salvador on account of the prevalence of incendiarism.

REFORMS UNDER CUBA'S NEW PRESIDENT

Dr. Zayas begins by recommending many important changes and rigid economies—Help furnished by Generals Crowder and Goethals—Other West Indian Islands

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

DR. ALFREDO ZAYAS was inaugurated as fourth President of Cuba on May 20, taking the oath of office before a brilliant assemblage in the National Palace. The ceremony marked the end of one of the bitterest campaigns in Cuba's political history. Earlier in the day General Francisco Carillo took the oath as Vice President in the Senate Chamber. Immediately after the inauguration Señor Menocal, the retiring President, boarded a steamer for Key West and New York, on his way to Europe with his family for a rest. He is going to Spain, where he will present a speed boat, the gift of the Cuban Government, to King Alfonso.

The Cuban Congress met on May 21, and President Zayas delivered his first message, urging among other things ineligibility of the President for re-election, election of President by direct vote of the people, abolition of the rule requiring a quorum of two-thirds in both houses of Congress before sessions can be opened, creation of a Federal district to include Havana and suburbs and to be governed by a commission; abolition of immunity for members of the Legislature, and authorizing larger cities to organize a new form of municipal government.

President Zayas also recommended rigid economy by reducing the budget of Government expenses for the year beginning July 1 from \$136,000,000 to \$60,000,000. He asked that Congress, if it did not care to undertake such revision, allow him to put into effect the budget of \$64,000,000. Cuts in expenditures he called for in every gov-

ernmental department except education. He urged the necessity of revising the commercial reciprocity treaty with the United States, especially regarding sugar and tobacco, and the establishment of a national bank which could issue notes and act as fiscal agent of the Government.

Reorganization of the Cuban army of 11,000 men, which now costs \$6,000,000 a year, owing chiefly to the high salaries paid, is another of Dr. Zayas's proposed tasks. Elimination of sinecures was initiated on June 7 by a decree ordering the Secretary of the Treasury to investigate every case where there is reason to believe Government employees are not earning their salaries.

Many of the proposed reforms were said to have been inspired by General Enoch H. Crowder, who was sent to Cuba by President Wilson to straighten out the electoral tangle that followed the campaign there. On June 2 Enrique Maza introduced a resolution, which was adopted, asking the President to furnish Congress with information on General Crowder's mission and the powers he possessed. The Deputy declared that the United States in aiding Cuban independence had acted simply for the selfish purpose of gaining more power.

Another American, Major Gen. Goethals, has been inspecting Cuba for the purpose of improving the public roads. He left on June 9, but will return in July to attend the opening of a new highway between Havana and the eastern end of the island.

Cuban finances are very slowly emerging from the difficulties occasioned by endeavor-

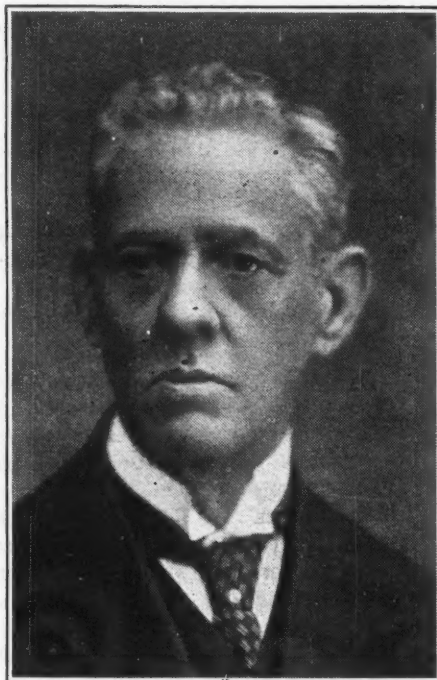
oring to keep up prices of sugar against declining markets all over the world. Seven large institutions have been obliged to liquidate and three small banks suspended payment owing to heavy runs. New York banks have approximately \$40,000,000 tied up in Cuban sugar. On May 30 there were 139 mills grinding, while the warehouses held 1,322,000 tons, as against 661,000 last year. Expiration of the moratorium on June 16 was looked forward to with anxiety and a conference of American bankers was called for June 14 to consider the situation. Meanwhile trade in the island is stagnant and unemployment is growing, 75,000 being out of work in Havana.

General José Miguel Gomez, former President of Cuba and leader of revolutions during the Spanish régime, died in New York on June 13 at the age of 65. When still a mere lad Gomez had taken up arms against Spain, and had served with distinction in the patriot army during the Ten Years' War (1868-78). Again, in the '90s, he took the field with the revolutionists in the bitter struggle that led to the Spanish-American war. At this time he held a commission as Major General. He became a member of the Constitutional Convention during the American occupation of Cuba. Later his revolt against President Palma's administration led to American intervention and to his imprisonment. Released from prison, he was elected President in 1908 by the Liberal Party. Almost to the end of his life he was in active opposition to his successors in the Presidency.

PORTO RICO—Statehood or independence is the demand of the Porto Rican Unionist Party with which the new Governor of the island, E. Montgomery Reily of Kansas City, is confronted at outset of his term. The demand was presented to President Harding last Spring, accompanied by a request to have the Governor elected instead of being appointed. This would require legislation, and Porto Ricans were anxiously awaiting the result.

HAITI—Three Haitian delegates presented a memorial against atrocities by American marines and a demand for their withdrawal. They expressed resentment at Secretary Denby's remark that the charges are "the same old rot." The Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People subsequently reported that Colonel John H. Russell, commanding the marines in Haiti, had imprisoned two native



(© Harris & Ewing)

DR. ALFREDO ZAYAS
*Latest photograph of the new President
of Cuba*

editors, Jolibois and Lanoue, and had forbidden Haitian newspapers to publish American comments on the memorial to Congress.

SANTO DOMINGO—The State Department at Washington announced on June 7 that a proclamation would be issued soon fixing the date when the American Government forces would be withdrawn from the Dominican Republic. This proclamation was issued on June 14 in Santo Domingo City by Rear Admiral S. S. Robison, the Military Governor. It pledged withdrawal within eight months, provided that certain conditions were fulfilled, among others the following: Orderly elections for the new Government, ratification of the Military Government's acts, and validation of the republic's loan. The primary assemblies to choose the electors were to be convened by the Governor within one month.

SOUTH AMERICAN DEPRESSION

Drop in exchange and in prices of staple products reduces trade and causes severe suffering—Nearly \$100,000,000 of American exports lying unclaimed in South American ports to be liquidated by a new corporation.

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1921]

SOUTH AMERICA has suffered severely from the decline in the prices of raw materials to the production of which they are particularly well adapted. It has even become difficult to dispose of them at any price owing to the decreased purchasing power of European countries which were the principal takers of South American exports. It is estimated that American merchandise valued at almost \$100,000,000 is lying unclaimed at Buenos Aires, Rio Janeiro, Montevideo and Valparaiso owing to the decline in exchange.

A determined effort is now being made to liquidate these goods. A committee of eight was appointed at a meeting of more than 300 exporters in New York on June 3 to form a corporation to take over the rejected and unclaimed merchandise in South American ports, daily depreciating in value from exposure and storage charges, and in some cases subject to sale by auction in the importing countries. The corporation will take title by assignment and determine in each case whether to sell the merchandise at a percentage of invoice where it lies or to transship it, perhaps for return to the United States.

At the second Pan American Postal Conference to be held in August in Rio Janeiro an effort will be made to lower rates on parcels and mail matter to South America and establish closer connections with the United States, such as were urged by Esteban Gil-Borges, Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, during his visit to the United States. At the same time the independent commission formed to investigate the working of the League of Nations has drafted a report recommending that the League organize a separate bureau for Latin Americans to strengthen the relations of South American members. A group of Spanish merchants intend to send a floating sample exhibition of industries to Latin American ports in an endeavor to capture the markets there.

ARGENTINA—Argentine commerce is believed to have touched bottom and the American Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires, on June 9, sent an invitation to Herbert Hoover to visit Argentina at an early date to assist in its revival. German manufacturers are said to be obtaining considerable orders for wire fencing, railway rolling stock, steel rails and other products at prices with which no other country can compete.

Strikes have added to the trade depression in Argentina, and several conflicts have occurred with union port workers who tried to prevent non-union men from unloading ships. The Custom House warehouse at Buenos Aires was burned on May 29, causing a loss of millions of pesos. The Government is now protecting non-union labor, and it was believed, as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press, that the general strike called to support the port workers would prove a failure.

Argentina has suffered a great loss in the death, at the age of 63, of Dr. Luis Maria Drago, noted jurist and author of the world-famous Drago doctrine. He died on June 9 in Buenos Aires. He held that the collection of private loans in one country by the military forces of another implied a potential occupation of territory, and was therefore at variance with the spirit of the American policy. The occasion was the simultaneous appearance off the coast of Venezuela in 1902 of German, Italian and British warships to collect a private debt owed by the nation to individuals in their respective countries.

BRAZIL—An issue of \$25,000,000 twenty-year 8 per cent. noncallable bonds of Brazil was offered to American investors on May 16 by a syndicate of New York bankers and was oversubscribed in forty-five minutes. The proceeds are to be used in the electrification of the Government railways, and all materials and supplies will be pur-

chased from American manufacturers. This is the first time Brazilian securities have been sold openly in the American market.

Two American companies have recently been organized to develop tracts of forest and diamond-bearing lands in Bahia, Brazil.

Hugo Stinnes, the German captain of industry, is reaching out for ore fields in Brazil, one of his companies, the Rhine-Elbe Union, having acquired rich deposits of iron ore in the Sabara district of Minas Geraes. A German shipping company will carry the ore to German smelters and transport German coal on the outgoing trips.

Brazil is rapidly developing her oil fields, which now number thirty-five, representing an area of 25,000 square kilometers in the States of Alagoas, Pernambuco, Bahia and Sergipe. There are more than 200,000 square kilometers of petroleum fields to be developed, with an estimated capacity in ten years of 500,000,000 barrels. Wells on Government land are property of the Government; those on private lands belong to the owner. Residents or foreigners may operate under license, but both Federal and State Governments can appropriate privately owned oil wells if public necessity justifies it.

Six American scientists, headed by Dr. Henry H. Rusby, Dean of the College of Pharmacy of Columbia University, are about to explore the headwaters of the Amazon. They intend to pick up the lost trail of Theodore Roosevelt's River of Doubt and trace it to its source. Their chief object is the discovery of new herbs and drugs for the enrichment of medicine.

CHILE—The Chilean Congress opened on June 1, and President Alessandri in his first message emphasized the necessity of reaching a solution of the Tacna-Arica question, suggesting that a plebiscite be held for the purpose of determining whether those districts should remain Chilean or become Peruvian. He asked for a conference with representatives from Peru, Colombia and Ecuador, to settle the boundaries of all the west coast nations, so that the peace of the South American Continent may not be disturbed.

He also proposed the creation of the office of Vice President, reorganization of the Foreign Office and the separation of Church and State, and also advocated wo-

man suffrage. He included in the administration program a Government control of nitrate prices and a participation in profits in return for the abolition of export duties and the suppression of speculation.

Announcement was made on May 17 of the sale of 2,000,000 tons of nitrate by the Chilean Nitrate Producers' Association to a nitrate pool in London at £14 a ton, shipments to begin in September. Fire on June 8 destroyed 30,000 tons of nitrate stored at Iquique, causing a loss of 2,000,000 pesos.

COLOMBIA—Earl Harding, Chairman of the Colombian Commercial Corporation, in an address to the Pan American Advertising Association on May 29, announced that Colombia would use the \$25,000,000 which she will receive from the United States under the treaty ratified by the Senate in public improvements and railway development. Much of it will be spent for materials to be purchased in the United States.

One of the larger islands located in the harbor of Barranquilla, at the mouth of the Magdalena River, has been acquired by the Petroleum Company, Ltd., a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, on which a refinery with a daily capacity of 25,000 barrels will be erected.

ECUADOR—Professor W. W. Rowlee and George W. Mixter are exploring Ecuador for quipe timber for the American Balsa Company. Quipe is a very light, buoyant wood, used extensively as a substitute for cork in the manufacture of life preservers and similar articles.

Messages from Santa Elena, sixty miles southwest of Guayaquil, on May 20, reported that oil had been found on the fields of the Ancon Oil Company at a depth of more than 3,000 feet.

PERU—Virtually all the nations of the world have been invited to send representatives to Lima in July to attend the celebration of Peruvian independence. Many have already accepted, and American participation was expected to be authorized by the Senate at the request of President Harding. Argentina will send a cavalry troop and an air squadron. Bolivia will send a company of infantry. An international exhibition will be opened about July 20, in

which the agricultural and mineral products of Peru will be displayed. Foreigners are planning to exhibit and Peru has agreed to admit the exhibits and permit them to be sold free of duty and consular charges. An equestrian statue of José de San Martín, the Argentine General who played a leading part in the liberation of the South American colonies from Spanish rule, will be unveiled.

With reference to the reported disturbances in Peru, noted in *CURRENT HISTORY* for June, Récardo Espinosa, Director of Government, cabled to The New York Times under the date of Lima, May 21, denying that President Leguía has set up a dictatorship and stating that the political exiles comprised a small body of political malcontents who had failed in a conspiracy against the Government, involving assassination.

Among the exiles was General Oscar Benavides, a former President of Peru. They were deported on the steamer Paita on May 11, ostensibly to Australia. When six days out, about 1,500 miles off Callao,

they overpowered the officers of the Paita, took possession of the steamer and directed the crew to steer for Costa Rica. A dispatch from San José announced their arrival on May 25 at Punta Arenas. They were detained on board pending consideration of their appeal to the Costa Rican Government for asylum. They pledged themselves to abstain from interfering in Peruvian politics if permitted to land and remain in Costa Rica.

A partial moratorium was declared in Peru on May 14. Debts owed to banks are collectible in instalments of 10, 20 and 30 per cent. at the expiration of 30, 60 and 90 days, but the collection of foreign drafts was excepted from the decree.

VENEZUELA—According to a dispatch from London of June 9 a British company has sent two airplanes, aviators and photographers to Venezuela to prospect for oil in the Orinoco delta. It is said that wherever oil seeps to the surface of the ground the vegetation withers and dies; and photographs show this plainly.

ITALY'S NEW PARLIAMENT

Premier Giolitti's new Coalition Government apparently can count on the support of 275 Deputies, as against a possible opposition of 260—Detailed results of the recent elections

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 12, 1921]

ALTHOUGH Article 3 of the decree of King Victor Emmanuel, issued April 7, appointed June 8 for the convocation of the Senate and of the Chamber to be elected May 15, Parliament did not assemble at Montecitorio until June 11, when the Deputies were sworn in and his Majesty delivered his Address from the Throne; they were then to adjourn until June 13 to elect the President of the Chamber.

Of the 535 Deputies composing the new twenty-sixth Legislature only about 300 were present to take the oath and listen to the address. Among them were many Socialists, all of whom rose when the King entered, as did all the Fascisti. It was expected that both parties would absent themselves in a body; the Socialists, by orders, and the Fascisti, because their leader, Ben-

ito Mussolini, had said: "No one can swear that the cause of Italy is necessarily bound to the monarchy." But it developed that the anti-monarchical interpretation put upon the phrase was due to Socialist propaganda.

The King's speech took scarcely ten minutes. His theme was co-operation and national loyalty for the reconstruction of the country—political and administrative reforms and cordial, sincere loyalty to Italy's allies and *Associato* (The United States). The matters which most needed legislation set forth April 2 in the address of the Council of Ministers to his Majesty asking for dissolution and a new election were indicated but not mentioned. At the session of June 13 Enrico de Nicola, who had been President of the twenty-fifth Legislature,

was re-elected to that office. He is a Neapolitan lawyer of great energy, eloquence and patience, who declined portfolios under both Nitti and Giolitti. Again and again he had quieted interruptions in the last Chamber by saying to the disturber—once the Hon. Orlando—"Why not show the same attention that you desire others to show when you have the floor?"

So Signor Giolitti, as President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, with a Cabinet composed of five members of his own party, three Popularists or Catholics, three Radicals, two Reformists or War Socialists, and two non-political experts holding the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and the Navy, faces the new Chamber composed of 535 Deputies, over 200 of whom have never before sat in Montecitorio, and among whom there are more doctors, lawyers and professors than at any time in recent years. What may happen has not even been indicated at the preliminary meetings of party leaders; still, certain figures and political facts will explain most eventualities. According to the official division, the parties which the Government counts on for 275 votes, thus forming the constitutional bloc, the result of local coalitions, are as follows:

Liberal Democrats (Giolitti's own party).....	106
Nitti Liberals	41
Progressives, or Anti-Socialist Agrarians. 26	
Fascisti	28
Radicals	37
Reformists	21
Independents	16

Total275

The Opposition is thus officially divided:

Popularists, or Catholics.....	107
Republicans	8
United Socialists	121
Communists	14
Slavs	6
Germans	4

Total260

This gives the Government a majority of only fifteen, which may at any time be wiped out by the Nitti Liberals. In such an attempt to overthrow the Government, however, support, it is expected, would come from the Popularists, who have representation in the Government, notwithstanding the fact that they are listed with the Opposition, because in the past the extremists among them have voted with the Socialists. At the same time their prestige is threatened by the Socialists, whose lead-

ers, in certain circumstances, are ready to replace the Popularists in the Government. Both parties, however, would unite against the Government should it attempt to put through an election law to take the place of the *scrutin de liste*, which, as the only organized parties, save the Republican, they have found to be to their advantage.

For two bills the Government counts on Catholic and Socialist coalition or support: A bill for the breaking up of the large estates with equitable profits for peasants and landowners, and a bill for co-operation of the workers in the large industries. If the Government is forced to make concessions, at the risk of losing the support of the more conservative elements in the bloc, it has prepared bills on a reform of the judiciary, decentralization of certain Government departments, and the yielding to Parliament of the sole right to declare war and negotiate treaties. Both the Catholics and the Socialists will support the Government if it presents its bill on free education in the right way.

The Socialists, in the late election, carried no constituency completely; their greatest return was seventeen out of the twenty-eight Deputies elected in Milan-Pavia; in fifteen they were entirely unsuccessful; elsewhere their ratio was two to seven. The four Germans in the Opposition are members of the Deutsche Verband of Bolzano; the six Slavs are members of the Slavic Unity of Gorizia-Gradisca and Istria-Parenzo. Thus of the twenty-seven Deputies elected from the former Austro-Hungarian territory ten are Outlanders. Bombacci, the prescribed communist leader, was elected from Trieste.

In the third week in May Government employes numbering 20,000 went on a "white strike"—that is, they reported for rollcall, but did not work—by which they hoped to evade the law which visits a Government employe with discharge if absent without leave. Italy's civil servants all over the country number 400,000, and a general strike would have seriously crippled or annihilated Government business. The Fascisti were appealed to by the strikers, but these modern Lictors merely advised them to return to work and let Parliament handle their grievances, which they did on June 10 after 4,000 of them had been discharged or otherwise disciplined.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH BUSINESS

American export trade is still suffering from abnormally high prices, but Europe is showing signs of recovery—French trade improving and Germany taking long strides—Facts and figures that indicate a more encouraging trend in the United States

AN intent scrutiny of the past may seem a strange preparation for a glance into the future, but only an intimate knowledge of the past insures a fair judgment of the probable course of events and of present opinions of them. It is only necessary to call up memories of opinions of the present, formed when the present was yet a month or so away, to appreciate the truth of this.

When the armistice was signed, the world was thrown off balance by the tremendous relief from a conflict of years. Optimism was the common feeling. At last everything was to be well with the world. Europe was to go to work, trade was to revive, things were to return to normal. But they didn't. Instead, matters appeared to grow worse. Prices rose with a rush to points never approached in war times. Business activity became actually violent until, as unexpectedly as they had risen, prices halted, wavered, broke and fell. Business declined, trade fell off. Everywhere there were signs of deepest depression.

On every hand were heard arguments that Europe was bankrupt, that the Continent could never pay its debts, and that Germany would never pay the indemnity. Bolshevism was seen as a menace about to spread westward from Russia, engulfing all transatlantic civilization in its progress. Optimism gave way to bitterest pessimism. Failures and panics here were freely predicted. Everything seemed wrong with the world. But again sentiment was mistaken. None of the things predicted happened. Instead, the world went plodding along as though upon a pre-destined path, improving a little here and a little there, successfully overcoming an assault on this side and an attack on that, until that time which was the future has become the present, and now new prognostications are being made

with no less assurance because the prognosticators have seen their earlier prophecies discredited and denied.

The head of one of this country's biggest hardware businesses, an institution with an international reputation and trade mark, was moved to comment on these facts the other day. Said he:

I travel much throughout the country sounding out the sentiments of what you would call the little fellows, the small-town storekeepers, the country newspaper editors, the conductors and trainmen on whose cars I ride—every one, in fact, with whom I can make a contact. In addition, I am thrown much into the company of big bankers, men of international as well as national affairs, and I take an active part in the affairs of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. With one and all I discuss the same topic: What is the country coming to? What will the future bring? What can we do or should we do to better ourselves, our country and the world?

And I have been struck by the opposing viewpoints these conversations have disclosed. The bankers are perplexed, puzzled, troubled, in fact. It is clear to them that conditions present a problem which must be solved, that ways must be found to finance the trade of the world, to start up production in all countries, so that conditions may return to what they call normal. They sense the problem, but they have not sensed the solution. And they are disturbed accordingly.

Opposed to this is a totally opposite view, which is typical of many of the small-town men with whom I have talked, and which is well exemplified, perhaps, in the words of a cobbler who put a pair of heels on my shoes as I waited in his shop in a Middle West city. As he worked he replied to my leading questions, practically thinking out loud and answering me by an oral marshaling of his ideas.

"Europe's been there," said he, "since the days of the Greeks and Romans, and I don't know how many years before. In those years there's been a lot worse things happen than this big World War. Stands to reason there must have been. But things went right on just the same. Eu-

rope's still there, and there's still folks there, and, as near as I can see, she'll still be there when we're dead and gone. It don't seem to me to make much matter what we do or what they do. You can't destroy a continent and you can't destroy a people. What's due to happen will happen, and, when all's said and done, it won't make a whole parcel of difference what we do to try to change things."

What that shoemaker said seemed to me to have a lot of good, sound sense back of it. No matter what we do, things will certainly go on just as a good Providence has decreed that they should go on. Perhaps we can make things a little better for all hands if we do the right thing, but it seems to me we're just as likely to make matters worse trying to help them. Some day, in the ordinary course of events, the whole situation will right itself, no matter what we do, and, it seems to me, maybe the best thing for all of us would be to get right down and saw wood. By that I mean go to work and hustle, just as we were doing before war came, and count on it that, in the long run, things will come out all right.

PROGRESS SEEN IN EUROPE

To the extent, at least, that our efforts to aid in the reconstruction of Europe have been abortive, this idea seems to have been realized by the facts. Progress has certainly been made toward a more stable condition of affairs across the Atlantic, and it is not easy to see where, in recent months at least, this progress should be attributed to any concerted effort on the part of this Government or the business community of the United States to direct the movement of events. Indeed, the movement of events has seemed not to be in response to any preconceived direction, but problems have risen and been met upon the spot, just as they were accustomed to arise and be met before the war set the thoughts of men upon the problem of reorganizing and reconstructing the world, where, before, they had been devoted to making the best of occurrences as they came up.

Questions which press for solution seem unnumbered. Political questions, economic questions, financial questions crowd each other for first place in the minds of the men who are striving to bring the world back to the condition that we call normal, though what would have been at the present a truly normal condition, had not the World War occurred, none may assert with assurance.

Yet all the problems simmer down to one

problem, the problem of money, and, in international thought, money means gold. The war has not altered the needs or the desires of the races that entered the conflict. To the extent that men were lost, it has reduced the demand for goods, but this reduction has been much more than offset by the increased demands of those who are left. Not only was production tremendously reduced, but ordinary waste and destruction were greatly increased while Europe was at war.

Europe's wants are, then, as great as, if not greater than, ever before. Capacity for production is greater here than at any other period in the nation's history. But one thing is wanting to permit a resumption of trade upon a record-breaking scale and an immediate return to what we call normal. And that one thing is gold. At present we have the goods and most of the gold. Europe has very little of either. It may truly be said that we cannot afford to sell indefinitely to a customer who cannot pay. It may just as truly be remarked, however, that we cannot afford to corner all the goods and gold in the world. Too much, in such a case, would be as bad as too little. We cannot prosper if the world does not prosper, and it is unthinkable that ways will not be found by which exchange of goods may be brought about, regardless of which nations have, or have not, gold. Gold was employed at first in international transactions to expedite the exchange of commodities. It was devised to help trade, not to check it; yet today, gold, or rather the absence of it from some countries, is so far from expediting business that it is putting all but a complete stop to it.

MAKING VICTORY AN ASSET

A correspondent of *The London Economist*, in a recent letter to that publication, wrote:

The value of a bill on London payable in gold is unquestioned, but arises from the stability of gold as a measure of value. Unfortunately the bond between our currency and gold was broken by the war. The Bank of England has failed to restore it, and admits its failure by reducing the Bank rate before the pound sterling has reached its pre-war equivalent of \$4.86. We are therefore driven by the logic of events to erect a new barrier against inflation, where the old one has been swept away. What that barrier is to be must be determined by our economic health as a nation.

In a general sense inflation was produced by the fact that we spent \$8,000,000,000 more than we earned during the war, the evidence of this being that we have no increase in our assets to set against that figure, but, on the contrary, a fairly palpable decrease, considering the state of the country, the neglected state of house building, roads, &c. Victory as an asset can, unfortunately, only be realized by our own industry. The process of deflation, which is the reverse of inflation, must therefore necessarily involve the payment of our debts or the creation of assets to an equivalent value. In a figurative sense we have been putting ourselves into liquidation, and, by so doing, we have been taking the resources of merchants and manufacturers—which are the very life blood of industry, as the Bolsheviks are beginning to discover. Bolshevism believed that the bourgeois, the class that organizes and controls industry, could be dispensed with, and Russia has been reduced to ruin. We are not very much better ourselves, for that same class is being crushed out of existence by the heavy burdens imposed on it.

The struggle to get back to a gold basis will not be made more difficult by natural deflation. With our population in the present state of inactivity, with two million unemployed, one million on strike and a further million on short time, our progress toward paying our debts and re-establishing a gold currency is not merely slow, it is retrograde. That comes of efforts at artificial deflation by methods recommended by the Cunliffe committee.

The prosperity of industry is far more important than the immediate conversion of our debts to a gold basis. Gold is our servant; not our master.

GOLD ALONE NO HELP

But though foreign trade is difficult if not well-nigh impossible without gold, mere possession of the metal is no assurance of a prosperous foreign trade for the country possessing it. The Government report of the money in circulation in the United States on June 1 showed that our gold holdings were the largest on record, the stock amounting to \$3,175,037,198, an increase of \$391,202,771 over the total of Jan. 1 and of \$528,421,448 over that of May 1, 1920, the low level of last year. Until this month the maximum in our history was \$3,095,077,467 on July 1, 1919, and, at the beginning of the war, on Aug. 1, 1914, our total stock was only \$1,887,270,664. Today the United States holds nearly 40 per cent. of all the gold in the world. Economists say no such accumulation by one nation occurred in the history of the last two centuries.

Yet all this gold seems to be doing us no

good. It has not been accompanied by an increase of paper currency. In fact, up to date, there has been a decrease. Nor is it being made the basis for increased credit. The loan account of our banks has been steadily contracting while this gold importation was in progress.

And, meantime, while we have been acquiring this record stock of gold our foreign trade has been falling away from us. Latest available figures from the Department of Commerce follow:

	1921.	May-1920.
Imports	\$208,000,000	\$451,004,944
Exports	330,000,000	745,523,223
Excess of exports..	122,000,000	314,518,279
Eleven Months Ending May		
	1921.	1920.
Imports	\$3,471,876,268	\$4,685,746,580
Exports	6,179,603,978	7,479,611,906
Excess exports	2,707,727,690	2,793,865,326

In other words, in approximately the last year our exports fell off \$1,300,007,928 and our imports \$1,213,870,292. Nor has this been any sudden drop. Monthly figures show that the decline has been steady since last December. The record follows:

EXPORTS

December, 1920	\$720,286,774
January, 1921	654,271,423
February	486,281,597
March	386,680,346
April	340,338,729
May	330,000,000

IMPORTS

December, 1920	\$266,057,443
January, 1921	208,796,989
February	214,529,680
March	251,969,241
April	254,597,362
May	207,000,000

IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

Meantime, how has England fared? Later figures than those already published in this magazine are not available at the time of writing, but the record for the first four months of the year shows a decrease in exports and imports similar to the change which has occasioned alarmed comment in the United States. Total exports, in which are included exports of British products as well as re-exports of foreign goods, dropped from £497,302,154 in the first four months of 1920 to £323,014,213 in the first four months of 1921, a decrease of £174,287,941. Total imports fell from £697,167,383 to £397,621,757, a decrease of £299,545,626.

A readjustment of French trade figures through February of the present year shows marked changes from the figures as reported by the French Government, but, at

the same time, makes out a better case for the French than the official figures did. Here are the figures for 1920 and the first two months of this year adjusted to current values:

Month.	(In millions of francs.)		
	Total Imports.	Total Exports.	Excess Imports.
January, 1920	3,040	1,099	1,941
February	4,340	2,138	2,202
March	5,420	2,330	3,090
April	5,320	2,540	2,780
May	4,110	2,400	1,710
June	3,990	2,790	1,200
July
August	4,116	3,528	588
September	4,047	3,314	733
October	3,737	3,360	377
November	3,608	2,543	1,065
December	3,744	2,109	1,635
January, 1921	2,258	2,241	17
February	1,501	1,766	*265

*Excess exports.

The figures published each month by the French Government are cumulative for the year, so that in July, 1920, when a new schedule was last introduced, there was added a correction to adjust the prices for the preceding six months to the new level; hence figures for July, exclusive of the correction, are not available at this time, and the month has been omitted from the tabulation.

It is to be noted that, although these corrected figures make the adverse balance of trade for France greater than the official figures showed, at the same time they disclose a more marked improvement, for in February the excess of imports is turned into an excess of exports. As a fact, the adverse French balance of trade in 1919 was 84 per cent. greater than the customs figures showed, so that the change to a favorable balance is just that much more of an accomplishment than appeared in official figures.

GERMANY'S TREMENDOUS STRIDES

Figures for Germany have not been published, so that comparisons cannot be made for the nation which, above all others, must increase its foreign trade and create a large excess of exports over imports if it is to pay off the indemnity to its conquerors in the war. There are plenty of signs, however, that Germany is making tremendous strides along the path that leads to a favorable trade balance, and in this connection it is worth quoting from a bulletin just issued by the First Federal Foreign Banking Association. Says this document:

The international trade of the whole world

has been noticeably contracting in the last five months, and the effective demand for manufactured merchandise of all kinds by foreign customers has lately been falling off even faster than the fall in movement of raw materials. In this situation, a very drastic competition between the industries of several nations has developed. Germany has led off in going after business by cutting prices. Belgium's industries have also offered their output at reductions from prevailing price levels, which has been a trying matter to competing industries in England. Exporters here inform us of instances where, within a few weeks, France and Sweden have successfully negotiated competitive business which had before been regularly done with America.

The fact is very plain to anybody who keeps well acquainted with the figures of foreign trade published by our Government and others, that American export business is dropping more rapidly than that of its chief competitors, and this seems to be due to the maintenance of high export prices. It is impossible to profiteer now, in the international market. It is going to be hard enough to meet competition and keep up foreign sales by concessions in price. One of the unfavorable factors in our foreign trade situation is that, except for a few exceptionally capable and farsighted men, our people seem to have very little definite information about the prices their foreign competitors are making.

Our export prices in recent months have not only been high, out of line with the prices of the rest of the world, and seemingly out of line with domestic prices, but they are all at "sixes and sevens," in various lines, with each other. If prices throughout the whole structure of our business organization have responded to the artificialities of our drastic campaign for "deflation" in the same way, it is a very indifferent kind of testimony for the method. Our raw materials (which are holding up in volume of export movement better than our manufactures), have had a price decline that has brought cotton and metals down to the 1913 level, and the whole group to a fair relationship to a "deflation" point. This is because the organization of their marketing makes them more directly amenable to international competition. But our manufactures, the export volume of which has been cut in two since the first of the year, were in March still sticking up at 224 per cent. of the pre-war price level. And there was no consistency throughout the decline in prices, such as it was, that was beginning to appear—one line was up, another down. The whim of export movement as between different lines was just as irregular. The central fact of the situation is the glaring one that our organization of export of manufactures has been working in the dark. Everybody knows that the war-time condition of things, in which foreign merchants begged for goods, asked our banks and consular agencies to get them into touch with our manu-

facturers, and there was no finesse about prices, is past. But we haven't done much in the realization that we now have to go after business, will have to talk up for it and meet competitive prices, and to that end must find some way of knowing, as definitely as we are able, what the other fellow's prices are. From now on we are sure to meet the keenest and cleverest kind of skillful international price-making. * * *

It seems very difficult for some of our export executives to overcome the persistent delusion that it is "exchange" that is causing them to lose foreign orders.

The exchanges are a cause of increased difficulty in handling foreign business; they will be for several years a cause of difficulty, and men who have to do with export, from selling to financing, will have to develop a better quick grasp of exchange. But, as affecting the market for our goods, exchange is not now as serious a factor as the fundamental differences in costs of production and in prices that have developed in international commerce.

Money, whether it is cheap money or stable money, is only a medium of exchange. If the pound sterling goes down in value so that more pounds can be bought for so many dollars than at par, it also goes down in value in the buying and the pricing of goods, so that it takes more pounds to buy a hundred tons of fabricated steel. If the cost of production of the steel, measured in commodities of international market, do not change, it will take just as many dollars to buy the hundred tons in sterling at \$3.94½ as at \$4.86.

HANDICAP OF HIGH PRICES

It is clear that profit may be made by a skillful use of the exchanges, but it should be equally apparent that "cut-rate" money

will not account for all price differences. There has been a real reduction in production costs made by European manufacturers or a real reduction in percentage of profit accepted, and it behooves American manufacturers to realize that not exchange difficulties but a real price competition is taking away from them the trade which the war threw into their laps.

Evidence of the failure of our manufacturers to reduce prices in line with the deflation in the prices of raw materials is disclosed by the accompanying table, which was prepared by the statistical department of the Foreign Banking Association. In it prices and volumes in January last have been taken arbitrarily as a base, or 100 per cent., and prices and volumes in the ensuing months have been computed as percentages of these figures, as shown in the table at the foot of this page.

So much for the international situation as it affects this country. What, now, of the domestic situation?

ENCOURAGING SIGNS AT HOME . . .

Certainly the so-called period of deflation, into which this nation entered last year, is not at an end. Commodity and security markets alike reflect the depression which has supplanted the intense activity that was the first result of the termination of the war. There is unemployment in large measure. There is a curtailment of manufacturing enterprise. There is a lag in pro-

	Volume of Exports.					Relative Prices.				
	Jan. '21.	Feb. '21.	Mar. '21.	Apr. '21.	Year 1913.	Jan. '21.	Feb. '21.	Mar. '21.	Apr. '21.	
Breadstuffs	100	85	82	88	46.5	100	93	86	80	
Meats	100	101	98	78	61.3	100	87	81	77	
Dairy products	100	71	67	69	59.2	100	93	89	93	
Cotton	100	81	61	52	66.1	100	89	71	64	
Cottonseed oil	100	56	51	30	57.3	100	93	78	67	
Coal	100	62	58	*	35.3	100	96	95	*	
Tobacco	100	88	96	*	26.3	100	111	115	*	
Naval stores	100	109	85	*	43.6	100	82	61	*	
Group as a whole	100	84	78	*	51.9	100	93	86	*	
Manufacturing metals	100	109	69	*	96.9	100	91	90	*	
Cement	100	37	43	*	37.2	100	101	116	*	
Lumber	100	79	100	*	40.1	100	81	72	*	
Leather	100	57	49	*	51.4	100	81	79	*	
Paper	100	66	34	*	32.7	100	94	81	*	
Glass	100	67	17	*	63.4	100	103	86	*	
Chemicals	100	77	61	*	60.1	100	114	94	*	
Mineral oils	100	86	69	78	38.7	100	91	89	82	
Steel products	100	72	39	*	44.0	100	99	102	*	
Cotton goods	100	80	76	*	26.5	100	81	72	*	
Shoes	100	107	106	*	26.0	100	80	82	*	
Sugar	100	68	44	*	46.3	100	89	87	*	
Group as a whole	100	79	57	*	39.9	100	93	89	*	
Both groups	100	82	69	*	47.5	100	93	87	*	
*Data for compilation not yet available.										

*Data for compilation not yet available.

duction which is the more noticeable because of the fierce pace which was maintained for so long.

But all this is not to say that the times are bad, that the outlook is gloomy, that the future is filled with uncertainty and doubt. On the contrary, there is much in the situation to encourage confidence and assurance that we are approaching the end of our ordeal. After all, we have not had the wholesale failures which were confidently predicted some months ago. We have had no money panic such as those we experienced periodically before the creation of the Federal Reserve system. As a fact, we have had much less of a disaster than we predicted for ourselves, and our success in avoiding the evils which we had regarded as unavoidable should lend courage to the thought that we may be now imagining for ourselves troubles much more intense than we shall be asked to confront.

There are positive as well as negative reasons for such assurance. To be sure no general upturn in business is to be noted; the improvement lies more in a strengthening of underlying conditions, but some problems that had seemed well nigh insurmountable have been overcome.

Those who are accustomed to regard the movements of the stock market as a barometer of the later moves of business have had difficulty in reconciling the continued weakness of the market with the conviction that the worst was, to a major degree, over with business and that signs of improvement were to be looked for. In such a case it is probably well to forget the old rule and to accept as a working basis the theory that, in this instance, as in previous ones, the financial markets are reflecting the psychology of the financial community itself, which is experiencing a sense of hopelessness that the downward movement can be combated, and a sentiment that it must be allowed to run its course, a state of mind which aggravates, if anything, the very condition which it would wish to see altered. The increase in building activity which has been generally reported throughout the country is certainly an omen for good. The awarding

of building contracts means work for many hands.

The railroad situation has taken a turn which should be for the better. Revision of railway wages goes into effect this month together with the abrogation of the national agreements which were hold-overs from the period of Government control, thus allowing the carriers to make a fresh start, so to speak. Prospects of labor for many men now among the great ranks of unemployed are held out in these decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. It is expected that the railroads will add to their forces at once, under new agreements and new rates of pay, and, in addition, will begin to undertake some of the deferred repair and maintenance work which will give employment to additional hands.

This may appear optimistic in view of the fact that the earnings of 200 railways were \$1,494,000 less in April than in March. It must be remembered, however, that the troubles of the railways have been due, not to lack of business, but to lack of control of costs. These are now to be fixed again at a point which will allow the carriers a fair return on their investment and operating costs. There would be cause for dismay if the roads had been able to operate profitably and yet had been unable to obtain the business to make this possible. On the contrary, there is no lack of business other than a seasonable one, and the volume is sufficient, and will become more so, to enable the roads, with properly adjusted costs, to do business at a profit instead of a loss.

All values are relative. We appreciate heat because we know cold. We desire prosperity because we know its opposite. Judged on such a basis, should we not say that general business conditions are reasonably satisfactory just now? Certainly they are far better than some of us expected them to be, far better than they very easily could be. The movement toward normalcy is slow, perhaps, but it is steady, and today we are nearer the desired point than we were a month ago. Judged from such a viewpoint, conditions are good, and they are becoming better.